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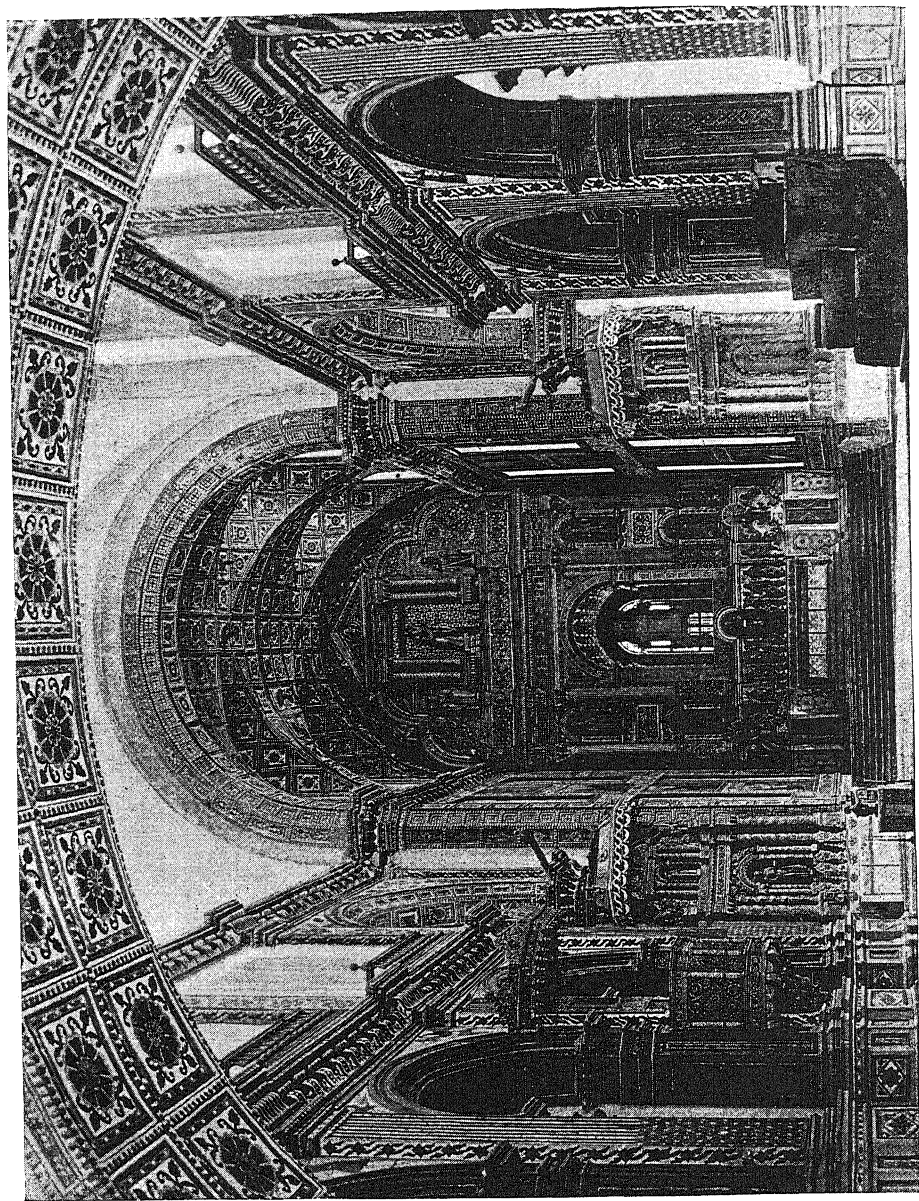


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THE VOYAGE
OF
FRANÇOIS PYRARD.

No. LXXVII.



INTERIOR OF CHURCH OF S. FRANCIS OF ASSISI AT GOA.

THE VOYAGE
OF
FRANÇOIS PYRARD

OF LAVAL

TO THE EAST INDIES, THE MALDIVES, THE
MOLUCCAS AND BRAZIL.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH FROM THE THIRD FRENCH EDITION OF 1619,
AND EDITED, WITH NOTES,

BY ALBERT GRAY,
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ASSISTED
BY H. C. P. BELL.
OF THE CEYLON CIVIL SERVICE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. II, PART I.

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“ Por terra jaz o Emporio do Oriente,
Que do rígido Affonso o ferro, o raio
Ao grão Filho ganhou do grão Sabio,
Envergonhando o Deos armipotente.

Cahio Goa, terror antigamente
Do Naire vão, do pérfido Malaio,
De barbaras Nações . . . ah ! que desmaio
Apaga o Marcio ardor da Lusa Gente.

Oh Seculos de Heróes ! Dias de Gloria !
Varões excelsos, que, a pesar da Morte,
Vivei na tradição, viveis na Historia !

Albuquerque terrivel, Castro forte,
Menezes, e outros mil, vossa memoria
Vinga as injúrias, que nos faz a Sorte.”

M. M. DE BARBOSA DU BOCAZE.

“ Surely, at this day, with us of Europe, the vantage of strength at sea (which is one of the principal dowries of this Kingdom of Great Britain), is great; both because most of the Kingdoms of Europe are not merely inland, but girt with the sea most part of their compass; and because the wealth of both Indies seems, in great part, but an accessory to the command of the seas.”

FR. BACON, *Of the true Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates.*

INTRODUCTION.

THE author has chosen to make his arrival at Goa the dividing point of his two volumes. He might have closed the first with his escape from the Maldives, and thus comprised in the second the whole of his description of Portuguese India. While he was on the Malabar coast, at the pirate ports and at Calicut, he was within the sphere of Portuguese action and diplomacy, while at Cochin he was a Portuguese prisoner. But the scheme of division is nevertheless a reasonable one. At Chittagong and on the Malabar coast he was still at a distance from the centre of action, and not till he arrived at Goa was he able to take a comprehensive view of the first great European dominion in the East. Moreover, it was not till he arrived at the Portuguese capital, at which regular communication was maintained with Europe, that he began to take hope of once more returning to his native country.

The two volumes are composed on the same method. In the first the narrative proceeds down to the arrival of the author at the court of the Maldivian king. It is then suspended while he gives a detailed view of the island kingdom in all its departments, and is not resumed until the arrival of the

hostile fleet which conveyed him to India. The story of four-and-a-half years' residence is only to be gleaned from occasional personal references. In the second volume the personal narrative breaks off at his liberation from prison, a few weeks after his arrival at Goa. At that point, when he was first enabled to make his observations of Goa and Portuguese India, he discards dates and the sequence of events, and bids his reader receive his impressions of the Portuguese dominion, classified and arranged under a series of chapters. When he has completed this general view he gradually resumes the thread of his narrative, relates various occurrences at Goa immediately prior to his departure, and so proceeds with his homeward voyage. Of his twenty months' residence with the Portuguese (May 1608—February 1610) the events of the first and last few weeks only are narrated with dates. As respects the interval, personal details are introduced more as illustration and in warranty of truth than as subject-matter. He informs us, indeed, that he made two voyages in Portuguese ships, the one to Malacca and the Eastern Archipelago, and the other to Diu and Cambaye, but he vouchsafes neither dates nor names of the ships or commanders; and while he states that on these expeditions he fought under the Portuguese flag, he gives us neither time, nor place, nor enemy. The personal narrative may, however, be pieced together.

Pyrard arrived at Goa, wounded by his accident and ill from his bad treatment during the voyage

from Cochin, about the end of May 1608. Of his two companions, one was afflicted with a serious ulcer; the other, though suffering from fatigue, was otherwise sound. By the kindness of the officers of the fleet all three were admitted to the Royal Hospital. After three weeks' careful treatment in this splendid institution, Pyrard and his healthy companion, ignorant that they were still prisoners, pressed the Jesuit father (*pae dos Christãos*), to whom the Government assigned the superintendence of native and foreign Christians, to be allowed to go out and see the city of which they had heard so much. After a few days they were discharged from the hospital, but, to their surprise, in charge of *meirinhos* (sergeants) and their peons, who escorted them to the *Sala das bragas*, one of the Goa prisons.

On a later occasion Pyrard was again a patient in the hospital. His description of it is one of his most attractive chapters. The institution, originally instituted by Albuquerque for the treatment of Portuguese soldiers, and into which no native was received as a patient, was at this time under the management of the Jesuits. The nursing arrangements seem to have been excellent, strict regularity being accompanied by cleanliness and good feeding. It is a relief to find no charge of peculation laid against this department of administration. The medical service, unfortunately, seems to have been lamentably bad even for that age, and the mortality excessive (see pp. 11, 14, *note*). No doubt a large percentage of the cases were those of cholera, scurvy,

and enteric fevers, with which the science of the time was unable to deal. But, on the other hand, the best available skill was not employed—that of the physicians who had experience in India. Every viceroy as he came out was in the habit of appointing his private physician, who had accompanied him, to the charge of the hospital. At the end of three years, when he was beginning to understand his work, he was superseded on the arrival of the next viceroy.

Pyrard was held a prisoner in the *Sala das Bragas* for about two months, and was then released by the intervention and good offices of a French Jesuit, Father La Croix. It was now about the end of August. He and his companion were forthwith placed on the roll of soldiers for service. He made two expeditions with the Portuguese armadas, one to the north as far as Diu and Cambaye, the other to Ceylon, Malacca, and the Archipelago. It seems probable that the shorter voyage was performed first, and that he embarked some time in October in the armada of the south, which was wont to leave Goa annually in that month, for the protection of commerce, and for supplying the eastern fortresses and factories with reinforcements (p. 117). In any case he must have been absent from Goa during the latter half of September, because on the 17th the Dutch admiral Verhoeven appeared at the river bar, and blockaded Goa for ten days. As we know from other sources, this event caused great consternation in the city ; but Pyrard's only reference to Dutch

blockades does not imply that he was a spectator of any of them.

His short sojourn in Ceylon only gave him time to gather a quantity of hearsay information about the island. At this time the Portuguese had their fortresses at Colombo and Galle, besides smaller forts at other places on the western coast. They had not then occupied Jaffna, nor any point on the eastern coast. The Dutch under Spilberg, following their usual policy of seizing points unoccupied by their rivals, made their first entrance in 1602 by Batticaloa on the east. The diplomatic relations with the Kandyan king, successfully commenced by that captain, had been abruptly stopped by the murder in 1603 of Sibalt de Weer, the only captain of Oliver de Noort's fleet who survived the terrible sufferings of the first Dutch voyage of circumnavigation.

This event delayed the progress of the Dutch in Ceylon for some years, and it was not till 1609, the year after Pyrard's visit, that an offensive and defensive alliance was formed with the Kandyan queen, Donna Catherina. The Portuguese had committed in Ceylon their great error of attempting to enlarge their dominion from the possession of a few forts and the command of the sea, to a conquest of the whole island. They considered that the fortress policy, proper as regards the continent of India, did not apply to an island like Ceylon; but they took no account of the difficulties of guerilla warfare in a mountainous country covered with

dense jungle, and they over-estimated their own strength. The whole period of their undisputed supremacy in India had been employed in fomenting an internecine war in Ceylon, and in the end they were masters of hardly a mile of territory outside their forts. In 1597, the same year in which the Dutch made their first appearance in Indian waters, the Portuguese obtained from the Kandyan king, Dharmapála, a legacy of the throne which he had ceased to occupy, and were thus further committed to their fatal policy of conquest. The Dutch gave but an intermittent support to their native allies; the war which ensued was signalised by every species of atrocity and treachery, and the long miseries of the Portuguese occupation ended for Ceylon in the capitulation of Colombo in 1656.

From Ceylon Pyrard passed to Malacca. His chapter on that great fortress and emporium, in which the Portuguese up to this time had succeeded in focussing the whole trade of the far East, is mainly devoted to an account of the siege of 1606, and the destruction of the viceroy's relieving fleet. His account of these events is valuable, though in some details inaccurate; it represents the unofficial story as related to him by the Portuguese officers or soldiers, some of whom, perhaps, had been present.

From the occasional personal references in the general description of the Eastern Archipelago, which is comprised in chapters xii and xiii, we gather that the places actually visited by the traveller were Bantam and Tuban in Java, the

islands of Madura and Báli, Ternaté, one of the Moluccas, and Banda. At this time no foreign power had an established position in Java, though both Dutch and English agents were admitted at Bantam. The great object of the European rivals was the possession of the Moluccas, or Spice Islands. In 1599 Van Nek had expelled the Portuguese factors from Amboyna, and established relations with the Moluccas, though the Portuguese had a fort at Tidoré. In 1601 the Portuguese sent an armada under André Furtado to expel the "rebel Hollanders", and re-establish the Portuguese supremacy. He succeeded in retaking Amboyna, but arrived before Ternaté in 1603 with an equipment exhausted by nearly two years' continuous service at sea. Despairing of proper reinforcement from Goa, he had applied to the Governor of the Philippines. That officer deemed it prudent to send the succour, though he himself had designs on the islands on behalf of Spain. Even with this reinforcement Furtado failed to take Ternaté.¹

In 1605, before anything further was done on behalf of the king by either division of his subjects, the Dutch again swooped upon the islands. Under Van der Hagen they drove the Portuguese from Tidoré and Amboyna, and were supreme for the moment. That captain, however, left the islands insufficiently garrisoned, and in 1606 the Spanish governor of the Philippines, Pedro de Acuña, carried out his long

¹ De Morga's *Philippine Islands*, pp. 216, 226.

meditated expedition and expelled the Dutch from all their positions, except Amboyna.

In 1607 Matelief, fresh from his naval victories off Malacca, succeeded in dislodging the Spaniards from Tidoré. Thus Pyrard found Tidoré and Amboyna in the hands of the Dutch, and Ternaté in those of the Spaniards. The miseries of the wretched Moluccans, cursed with the endowment of the coveted clove, were not yet at an end. In 1611 the Spaniards conquered Banda and retook Tidoré, and not long afterwards the Dutch retook Ternaté.

When the news of Van der Hagen's successes at the Moluccas reached Goa, it was accompanied by information that a combination was on foot between the Dutch, and the Rajas of Achin and Johore, for a general attack upon Malacca. The Portuguese promptly equipped a powerful armada, the largest which had ever left Goa, and it was ordered by the king himself that the viceroy, Martin Affonso de Castro should proceed in command. Ignorant that a new Dutch fleet under Matelief was already on its way to Malacca, the viceroy was minded to break up the confederacy by a descent upon Achin. A landing was effected, but the assault was repulsed, and the force was re-embarked with the loss of some men and much credit. Thence turning to Malacca he found himself face to face with Matelief, who was well-informed of his movements, and had raised the siege. De Castro was no match for Matelief. The sea-fights off Malacca, though obstinately fought, resulted in the complete destruction of the Portu-

guese fleet, and De Castro remained at Malacca only to die, as some said, of chagrin.

Besides describing the places actually visited, our traveller adds short accounts of the rest of the Archipelago, such as Sumatra, including Achin, Borneo, and the Philippines. The more interesting passages of this part of his narrative are those in which he describes the course of trade as between the Eastern islands, China and Japan, Spanish America and the Philippines, and Portuguese Goa and Malacca.

Pyrard has nothing to say as to the doings of the English in those seas. Our chief factory in the East, and that but a small one, was then at Bantam, cargoes being picked up wherever we were free from the molestation of Spaniards and Dutch. In 1606 Middleton had been warned off the Moluccas by the Spaniards, and off Banda by our old allies the Dutch.

On his return from the Malacca voyage Pyrard states that he remained another six months at Goa to pass the winter (the S.W. monsoon), before his departure from India.¹ It is probable therefore that he reached Goa about the end of May 1609; he does not state clearly that he was at Goa when André Furtado assumed office as Governor, that is on the 21st, and he misdescribes that proceeding.

This last period of six months was a busy and interesting time. Furtado, on his assumption of office, at once commenced great doings in the arsenal.

¹ See pp. 179, 261.

Armadas were equipped to be despatched as usual to the north and the south, and in addition a great expedition was on foot for the discovery of the Zambesi and the gold mines of Monomotapa. Besides these, the regular fleet from Portugal was expected in September, and the homeward fleet would have to be loaded and despatched by the end of the year. Pyrard does not tell us in what he was employed ; he was still on the roll of soldiers, and as a *soldado* got his provisions at the house of one of the great lords.¹ He was within an ace of being taken for service either with the armada of the north, or that for Africa.

There does not seem to have been any notion of compulsion in this matter. He was invited to go with the northern armada by the lord who gave him his provisions, and he was "greatly importuned" to join the Mozambique expedition.² He was, however, saved by events. In September arrived the fleet from Lisbon, bringing a new viceroy, Ruy Lourenço de Tavora, to whom Furtado yielded up the government. By this time the Portuguese had an unusual number of foreigners on their hands. They had Pyrard and his two French companions ; they had Richard Wickham, who had been kidnapped from the *Union* on the coast of Zanzibar ; they had the survivors of the seventeen Englishmen captured in one of the boats of the *Hector* at Surat ; and, lastly, they had the survivors of fifteen of the crew of Captain Shar-

¹ See p. 269.

² See p. 235.

peigh's ship *Ascension*, which had been wrecked off Chaul. The King of Spain's orders were that no foreigners should be permitted in the Portuguese territories, especially those who came in their own ships. So large a number of spying foreigners naturally alarmed the new viceroy, and he at once put the whole of them into prison. He might have put them to death, but at this time the Portuguese hatred of their Spanish masters induced them to be lenient towards others. De Tavora, therefore, was glad enough to get rid of the intruders by providing them with passages in the homeward-bound fleet.

It is chiefly in the course of his narrative of these last six months at Goa that Pyrard makes mention of some interesting characters. The foremost figure is that of André Furtado de Mendoc̃a, the greatest Portuguese captain of his time, who had begun his service at the side of King Sebastian on the disastrous field of Alcazar-quivir in Morocco. Then we have that interesting personage, Archbishop Menezes, whose forcible conversion of the Nestorians to the Roman communion had no doubt won for him the patent of succession to the governorship of India. Then we have a pleasing picture of the Jesuit, Father Stephen, the first Englishman in India, the learned Father La Croiz, and the more famous Father Trigaut, who, with humanity and tact, performed the part of English and French ambassadors. Next we have our friend Richard Wickham, whom Pyrard describes as "a man of proud and noble bearing, like a captain", and who was afterwards to show his pride

to Richard Cocks in Japan. At Goa, too, Pyrard met the well-known French traveller, Jean Mocquet, the keeper of Henry IV's museum at the Tuileries, and surgeon to the viceroy, Conde de Feira, and to the governor Furtado. He heard of, but did not see that more mysterious Frenchman, Henri de Feynes, otherwise the Count de Monfart, whose sketch of his wanderings, published in French under the one name and in English under the other, is so jejune as to have been deemed mendacious. Feynes' companion on the homeward voyage was the Portuguese captain, Bras Correa, the principal actor in, and survivor of the desperate engagement off Fayal in 1593, between the *Chagas* and three ships of the Earl of Cumberland, whose prisoner he was for a year afterwards in England. The history of that fight, of one ship against three, though far from agreeable to our national vanity, and incompatible with the notion that in the days of Elizabeth all the heroism and chivalry were on one side, will, we may hope, be some day unearthed from Purchas and De Couto and retold. The story of the *Chagas* has as worthy a place in Portuguese annals as has that of the *Revenge* in ours.

The general description of the city of Goa, then in the crisis of its fate, though enjoying its greatest commercial prosperity, needs no recommendation. The topographical passages are frequently interspersed with some picturesque incident or grave reflection; and written as they were from memory, are wonderfully accurate and minute. The government and

social life of the Portuguese are described in terms which might be considered harsh if they were not true, and the absence of all malevolence in the description is seen in numerous kindly observations.

Following the description of Goa and of the far East, come chapters on the Portuguese settlements on the east coast of Africa, a description of Ormus, and lastly the cities on the coast of India north of Goa. With the exception of Diu and Cambaye, Pyrard does not seem to have visited any of these parts. They will not, however, be found wanting in interest. On the East African coast he deals successively with Mozambique, Sofala, and Mombasa. His references to the Zambesi and the gold mines of Monomotapa are of considerable interest, now that it is seen that the waterway of the Zambesi must become the principal means of access to the great lakes of Nyassa and Tanganyäka. To him, however, the more important subject was that of the two severe sieges which Mozambique had lately sustained from the Dutch. As he relates, the second, that in 1608 by Verhoeven, would in all probability have succeeded but for the desertion of three men from the Dutch ranks. One of these men, a Swiss, Pyrard met on the carrack in which he returned.¹

¹ It is characteristic of the strange wanderings men had in in those days, that in 1601 this Swiss and a friend were serving under the Duke de Mercœur against the Turks in Hungary. His friend was taken prisoner by the Turks, and no doubt after perilous adventures found his way to Goa. The Swiss was with Mercœur when he died at Nuremberg in 1602, afterwards he took service

The description of Ormus contains a notice of the Prince Turun Shah, who had been executed a short time before at Goa, and some details as to the enormous profits gained by the Portuguese governors of that island-fortress, at which was centred the whole trade of Persia with India. Next follows a chapter on Diu, Cambaye, and Surat, including all that the traveller was able to learn of the Great Mogul. The trade of Cambaye which the Portuguese, by means of their fort at Diu, compelled to pass through their hands at Goa must have then been enormous in bulk. The *cafilas*, or merchant fleets under convoy, were in the habit of coming south to Goa twice or thrice a year, numbering in the aggregate 300 or 400 vessels, bringing chiefly indigo, as also wheat, vegetables, etc., in fact, the provisions of Portuguese Goa. At times some of these ships got astray, and were captured by the Malabar pirates, who were in the habit of running north at the proper seasons for the purpose, and Pyrard says that they but seldom failed to capture some of them.¹ "I have seen them while I was there (at Diu), seize at one swoop forty or fifty of them, and that was no uncommon occurrence."² A short account of Chaul and Bassein, at the latter of which the Portuguese got their timber and building stone, and constructed such ships as were built

with the Dutch, deserted to the Portuguese at Mozambique, and was taken to Goa, where he met his friend from whom he had been parted seven or eight years before in Hungary.

¹ See p. 246.

² See p. 255.

in India, concludes the description of the Portuguese possessions.

As to the state of the Portuguese Government of India at this time, Pyrard's narrative, though not written in historical form, is a valuable instalment of history, and especially so because it almost exactly synchronizes with the hiatus in the Portuguese official chronicles. The *Decadas* of Barros, as continued by De Couto, extend only to the year 1600, that is, to the fourth year of the twelfth decade.¹ The so-called 13th Decade of Bocarro, which ought to have begun with the year 1607, does not take up the history till the viceroyalty of Azevedo in 1612. The gap of twelve years is to some extent bridged over by the recent publication of official documents by Mr. Rivara at Goa, and by the Royal Academy at Lisbon. In Fasciculo 1° of the *Arquivo Portuguez Oriental*, Mr. Rivara publishes, among others, the letters from the King of Spain to the municipality of Goa in 1610 and 1611, and thirteen letters from the municipality to the king, ranging in date between 1600 and 1609. Fasciculo 6° of the same collection contains a collection of despatches and orders of the king, and proclamations of the viceroys, throughout the seventeenth century, and comprises much matter illustrative of the first ten years of the century. On the other hand, the Lisbon Academy, in their *Documentos Remettidos da India*, or *Livros das Monções*,

¹ The eleventh decade is lost, but in the Lisbon edition of 1788 the principal events are supplied from official sources by the editor.

three volumes of which have been issued (4to., 1880-5), publishes the despatches of the king to the viceroys, commencing with the year 1605.¹ These volumes, which are admirably edited, would prove a mine of interest to any historical student who may hereafter devote himself to the not uninteresting history of Portuguese India.

For the proper understanding of this volume, this introduction should comprise, first, a historical sketch of the rise and progress of the Portuguese dominion in India; secondly, an examination of the methods of Portuguese government and finance, of the connection between the king at Madrid or Valladolid and the *Casa da India*, or India Office, at Lisbon—between these authorities in Europe and the viceroy, and between the viceroy and the chief officers at Goa and the captains of forts; and, lastly, a *résumé* of the politics of Western Europe at the beginning of the seventeenth century. These neither my space nor my knowledge enables me to supply. Some general remarks may, however, serve to explain the remarkable events of those few years, when the dominion and prestige of the Portuguese in the East, after a hundred years' growth, fell irretrievably and suddenly as a house of cards.

The first fifty years of Portuguese India was, as "every schoolboy" knows, the age of heroes; they produced not only Da Gama, but the great Affonso

¹ The manuscripts of these despatches, ranging from 1605 to 1651, were returned from India by order of the king in 1777; the third volume, recently published, extends only to 1616.

d'Albuquerque, Francisco d'Almeida, and João de Castro. The deeds of these heroes are recorded as well by Correa and Barros, as by their individual biographers, and are still more widely famed by Camoens. By the time De Castro died in 1547, the main positions had all been won. Another fifty years brings us to 1597, fifty more years of monopoly undisputed by any European nation. This period we might suppose the Portuguese would have employed in consolidation, that so they might without fear have met their enemy in the gate. But the truth is, that their dominion could not be consolidated. It consisted only of a string of fortresses stretching round the vast coast line from the Cape of Good Hope to China. Throughout all these seas no merchantmen could safely pass without the Portuguese passport, and without paying the Portuguese dues. But the races who in their cities and villages were not actually under the Portuguese rule, had not forgotten the brighter days of the fifteenth century when the ocean trade was free, and the cosmopolitan Arab carried the chief part of the produce of both worlds. These people resented and ever continued to resent this novel dominion of the sea. Thus we find that so late as 1570, not only was there no consolidation, but that the empire was nearly extinguished by a great combination of native princes. In India, Chaul and Goa, and in the East, Malacca, were simultaneously besieged; while the Malabar corsairs, whose piracy was largely a national resistance, were never in fact put down or propi-

tiated. At the end of the century as at the beginning they had enemies ever at their doors.

The conquests, such as they were, were made in the first half of the sixteenth century ; during the second the Portuguese were hardly able to hold them against their native enemies. The modern Portuguese, with pardonable patriotism, are wont to attribute the loss of their eastern empire to the sixty years' subjection to Spain, which began in 1580.¹ But in truth that event only precipitated other causes of ruin. The prevailing characteristic of the first fifty years was ferocity²; that of the second

¹ I should, however, here refer, as an exception, to an excellent little book by G. de Magalhães Teixeira Pinto, chief judge of the court of Goa in 1823, published by Mr. Rivara in 1859, under the title *Memorias sobre as Possessões Portuguezas na Asia*, etc. The judge attributes the Portuguese misfortunes to the following causes:—(1) The great extent of the line of forts, the reinforcements for which, amounting to 3,000 men a year, drained Portugal and prevented any effective resistance being made to Spain in 1580 ; (2) the destruction of native commerce by the Portuguese monopoly ; (3) religious fanaticism in war and in the Inquisition, wherein Christians proved themselves more cruel than Mahomedans ; (4) bad policy of Albuquerque in selecting Goa as his capital, and in extending the Portuguese conquests to Malacca, whereas the dominion ought not to have been carried beyond Cape Comorin ; (5) the bad government, one of the chief causes of which was the shortness of the viceroy's term of office. The Judge admits that the Spanish domination was only the finishing stroke, and that if another was wanted, it was found in the imbecility of the government of Philip III.

² The conduct of the great De Castro and his captains at the siege of Diu, towards the close of this period, may serve for an example ;—"The first that entered the city was D. John, then D. Alvaro and D. Emanuel de Lima, and the Governor, all several

was dishonesty. Throughout the whole period the religion of Christ was invoked for the sanction of acts of cruelty and oppression, hardly surpassed even in the annals of the East. Nor was it alone in the later years of the century that the fidalgos led notoriously evil lives in India. What manner of men they were before 1550, when measured by a high standard of morality, appears in the pathetic letters

ways, making the streets and houses run with blood. The women escaped not the fate of the men, and children were slain at their mothers' breasts, one stroke taking away two lives" (*Faria y Sousa*, iii, 113). Diu they meant to keep, and resisting cities have always suffered hardly; let us see, therefore, how they dealt with territories they had no intention of keeping. Immediately after the siege D. Emanuel de Lima, by De Castro's order, "scoured the coast of Cambaya with 30 ships, extirpating all the towns on that shore. The city of Goga, one of the chief of that kingdom, was taken without resistance, the inhabitants flying to the mountains. It was plundered and burnt: then pursuing the inhabitants they were found at night about a league off, asleep, and all put to the sword. All the cattle in the fields were either killed or hamstrung. This was done in several other towns, and with many ships along the coast of Broach" (*Ibid.*, p. 114). De Castro then enjoyed his Roman triumph at Goa. Subsequently Broach was entered by one Menezes, "who entered it by night, killing many asleep and others as they awaked. The city could not be maintained, and therefore was plundered and burnt" (*Ibid.*, p. 119). Soon after, Castro himself marched to the coast, where he left neither town, wood, nor flock or herd of cattle that could be seen but what he destroyed with fire and sword" (*Ibid.*, p. 121). The next year Castro "began in January at the river Charope, two leagues from Goa. He spared neither living creature, vegetable, nor the very stones, but burnt and slaughtered all' as far as the city Dabul", etc. (*Ibid.*, p. 125). This took place two leagues from Goa more than thirty years after the Conquest. Fifty years later the inhumanity of Azevedo in Ceylon was rewarded with the viceroyalty.

of Francis Xavier, and may be seen even in the eulogies of their historians. Still it is true that from 1580 onwards corruption spread rapidly throughout the whole of the Portuguese service in the East. No moral obligation was felt by the Portuguese in India to aid in filling the coffers of a Spanish king. Offices not in the gift of the king, and probably those too, were privately bought and sold; heinous offences were condoned,¹ trials indefinitely postponed, and judgments left unsatisfied by bribery of the judges and the governors. Gross misappropriation of the public money went unpunished, and left the treasury unable to pay the legal claims of the soldiers and minor officials, who had not access to the public chest. The law was widely different both in its provisions and in the manner of its execution, as between Europeans and natives.

As regards slavery, Goa was like a colony of Sir John Lubbock's ants; not only did the Portuguese do no manual labour himself, he subsisted upon the labour of his slaves. According to Pyrard, Portu-

¹ "I am also informed", writes the king in 1591, "that the Viceroys and Governors of India with much laxity grant pardons in cases of the penalty of death and perpetual exile, contrary to the form of my ordinances and of the regulations sent by me to the High Court of Goa, and because one of the principal obligations incumbent upon you in that Government is the care and concern with which you ought to proceed in all matters of justice, and because from this large exercise of the pardoning power no amendment can be looked for in the numerous cases of atrocities committed in those parts, I enjoin and charge you again most earnestly to act in this matter, as I hope and feel sure you will." (*Arch. Port. Or.*, Fasc. 3, No. 83.)

guese ladies seem not to have been ashamed to share in the more disgraceful earnings of their female slaves.¹ It is needless to say that all slaves were treated worse than dogs. An *alvará* of the king dated 1599, begins in this wise: "To all to whom this my order shall come, I the king give you to understand that I am informed that in the city of Goa, and in other cities, fortresses, and places in the parts of India, the captive slaves are chastised by their masters with much rigour, being put to severe and painful torture by cruel and exquisite means, whereby many die in the said torture, or afterwards die thereof, and that to conceal the evil so done the masters bury them in their houses and gardens, whereby great scandal results," etc.² In justice to the king, it must be added that the *alvará* goes on to order that murder of slaves is to be punished in the same manner as that of free men. Their general treatment, however, continued to be so bad that Pyrard assigns it as one of the chief causes of the Portuguese misfortunes.³

Should the Hakluyt Society publish its promised edition of the *Soldado Pratico* of De Couto, corroborated as it can be, and as we hope it will be, by references to historical facts and official documents, it will be seen that the charges brought against the Portuguese in regard to the government of their dependencies do not err on the side of overstatement.

In the meantime I will present, as an epitome of

¹ See p. 67.

² *Arch. Port. Or.*, Fasc. 3, No. 372.

³ See p. 210.

the Portuguese system, a document which is in its way quite a curiosity, and may be given here as being dated only four short years after Pyrard's departure from India. The exigencies of the poor Spanish king were then even greater than in the days with which we are now concerned, while the public morality was at a still lower ebb. Affairs were in a desperate condition when a happy thought seems to have struck some administrative genius, that it would be as well if the money paid for offices in India were paid into the royal treasury instead of into the purses of the governors and their satellites. However that may be, on the 2nd May 1614, King Philip III, or rather we may assume the Duke of Lerma, sent out to India an *alvará* (order in council) in the following terms¹:—

“To all to whom this my order shall come, I the King make known that, for just and great considerations of my service, and for the preservation and defence of my estate of India, and for the common good of the vassals and inhabitants thereof, all which move me hereto, and for a remedy of the public necessities which cannot at present be speedily repaired from my treasury, however important they be, I do order that for this time only, and for the term of three years, all the fortresses,² offices, and voyages³ of that estate be sold, with liberty to such persons as shall buy the same to enter thereupon, in pre-

¹ It is No. 353 in Fasc. 6° of *Archivo Portuguez Oriental*, Goa, 1875.

² *I.e.*, the captaincies of the fortresses.

³ The right of making a voyage to a particular place or region, or merely taking the profits of such voyage, untrammelled by dues. See pp. 173, 174.

cedence of all others already appointed thereto,¹ but after the same are vacated by the persons in possession at the date of the sale ; and by this my order I do give power, commission, and all such sufficient authority as he may require, to Dom Jeronimo d'Azevedo, my councillor and viceroy of the said estate of India, so that he shall have power in my name to make, and that he do make such sales to the persons who shall bid highest at public auction, which shall be conducted in the presence of him and of the officers of my treasury, in manner accustomed at the auction of the royal rents, and subject to the regulations now ordered by me to be sent to the said viceroy, which will enable him upon the said sales to make the necessary contracts and writings, and to pass the patents and appointments in respect of the fortresses, offices, and voyages, so to be sold, to the persons who shall purchase them, and to sign the same in my name so that they have effect in the form aforesaid, and to cause the purchasers to be put in possession without dispute or any prohibition, such as otherwise might be alleged by those already appointed by reason of their being about to enter, or of the long subsistence of their letters patent, which, granted in satisfaction of services or for other cause, may have been signed by me and passed by my Chancery ; inasmuch as for this time only, and for the term of three years, and for the causes and reasons herein stated, I abrogate them and hold

¹ Every French soldier is said to carry a field-marshal's bâton in his knapsack. It is more matter of fact that numbers of Portuguese carried appointments to offices for years in their pockets. While A was in office, B, C, D, etc., all had their patents of succession in turn as vacancies should occur. Nor were these grants strictly confined to the male sex. In many cases the captaincies of forts and offices of financial trust were granted in effect to widows and orphan girls, in reward of the services of their husbands or fathers. Such appointments were made in favour of "whomsoever she may marry."

them so abrogated, preserving, however, their force and vigour for the future, and directing that on the expiration of that time they shall have their effect according to the priority of each in date, and I direct, and my will is that this shall have force and vigour, and that my orders in this respect be executed in their entirety, in like manner as if this were a letter (*Carta*) commenced in my name and sealed with my seal depending, notwithstanding the ordinance of Book II, tit. 40, which says," etc., etc.

The King of Spain, in whose name this strange edict was issued, was the same of whom Pyrard speaks throughout his book in terms of distant awe. So, too, unless we knew more of Philip III than poor Pyrard did, might we look back with some respect upon the original of the fine equestrian statue in the Plaza Mayor of Madrid, in the production of which artistic falsehood the talents of Pantoja and John of Bologna are said to have been combined, or the equally noble equestrian portrait of him by Velasquez, in the museum of the Prado. Fortunately, however, for the verification of history, we have a truer portrait of this great king from the hand of the Venetian ambassador at his court, and we now know that Philip III was a very little man, with pink cheeks, flaxen hair, and yellow beard, with a melancholy expression of eye, and the protruding under lip and jaw of his Austrian race. Not only of less than mediocre size, he was beneath mediocrity in mind, and had scarcely any education. His evenings were spent in his favourite pursuits of dancing and gambling ; his days in moodily wander-

ing among his woods and in shooting rabbits. His chief ailments were the result of gluttonous over-eating. The affairs of Mexico and Peru, of the East Indies and his European dominions he left to his master, and their real ruler, the Duke of Lerma. He is believed not to have known the purport of any state document to which his signature or seal was attached.¹

In another respect than that of the state of their government, namely, in seamanship, the Portuguese were severely handicapped in the struggle with the Dutch and English. The experience of a whole century of annual voyages had not taught them the virtues of small and handy ships, such as were at that time used by the Dutch and English discoverers. They continued long after the severe lessons taught them by Drake and Cumberland to build and overload huge carracks of 1,500 and 2,000 tons burthen, which were unwieldy alike in storm and in fight. Crowded with passengers they were kept in the filthiest possible condition²; scurvy and dysentery frequently reduced the crew and passengers by one half in a voyage, while most of the remainder had to be sent to hospital. Such tales of this terrible ordeal would be told by the survivors who lived to return to Portugal, that it is no wonder that few volunteered, and that the outward bound ships had to be filled with

¹ For references to the Venetian documents see Motley, *United Netherlands*, vol. iii.

² See Mocquet's account of his voyage out to India in 1608, also *infra*, p. 196.

kidnapped boys,¹ and the armies of India recruited with malefactors.² During the first few years of the Dutch irruption the Portuguese made a show of resistance, but by Pyrard's time they had come to think only of their lives, and as the Dutch always gave quarter they sought it when they could not escape. "Now", says our author, "they fight no more."

The aim of the Dutch, who appeared in the Eastern seas for the first time in 1597, was to tap the markets which the Portuguese did not control, or at any rate to attack the Portuguese chain of monopoly at its weakest point. They chose their ground in the Eastern Archipelago, and chiefly in the Molucca group. After 1600 they were joined in that region by the English, whose motives were the same, and all went well for the trading companies of the two nations—so long as Elizabeth lived. It was an evil day for England, and especially for the rising East India Company, when James deserted the Dutch cause and made his treaty of 1604 with Spain. Hence flowed the malignant churlishness of the Dutch towards the English of Middleton's expedition of 1606, which contrasts so strangely with the friendliness shown to Lancaster in 1602. Hence, too, in after days ensued the terrible massacre of Amboyna, which wrung the heart of England for half a century, and was never avenged. England had as yet put little of her strength into the work, and that little was insufficient to cope with the superior energy of

¹ See p. 193.

² See p. 143.

the Dutch. But the success of the latter in the Archipelago, where their profits were enormous from the first, to some extent diverted their attention from India proper, upon which they made only occasional enterprises, and those chiefly on the coasts of Coromandel, Bengal, and Pegu. So it was that in 1608, when the Dutch had in fact almost broken down the Portuguese monopoly, the English, shirking greater endeavours in the far east, essayed to start a factory at Surat, and to send an embassy to the Great Mogul.

The policy of the two races who were in turn the successors of the Portuguese, at this time presents a marked contrast, attributable to the state of affairs in Europe. The United Provinces were approaching the end of their long struggle for independence, which as yet had not been formally admitted. During the last years of the struggle, while Maurice played a slow chess game with Spinola in the Low Countries, the Dutch policy was to strike hard at sea and in the Indies. Their achievements during the last three or four years were indeed brilliant. Van der Hagen took the Moluccas in 1605 ; Matelief besieged Malacca and destroyed the Portuguese fleet in 1606; in the following year Heemskerk destroyed the Spanish fleet in the Bay of Gibraltar, and Van Caerden demolished the town, and nearly took the fortress, of Mozambique. The fear of losing the Indies was the strongest argument which weighed with Spain when she yielded to the terms of the truce of 1609.

England, on the other hand, had no such desperate

game to play. The affairs of the East India Company were not yet a national question, and the merchants of the first voyages were instructed to find cargoes where they could, and establish factories as far as was possible in unoccupied places. This policy was continued throughout the seventeenth century ; and while the Dutch were occupied in the warlike enterprises which were signalised by the capture of Malacca in 1640, of Calicut and Colombo in 1656, and of Cochin and the other Malabar forts in 1660-4, the English had unobtrusively established factories round both coasts of India, and prepared the way for the great events of the succeeding century. It is a curious fact that the capture of Ormus in 1622, in which a small body of English assisted the Persians, was the only occasion on which our countrymen fought the Portuguese by land. Nor since the death of Elizabeth had there been any serious combats with the Portuguese in the eastern seas ; and it is probably due to the Elizabethan prestige, which the misgovernment and incapacity of James had not yet wholly destroyed, that Englishmen were, as Pyrard states, acknowledged to be “ kings of the sea”.

The history of Portuguese India subsequent to the departure of our traveller does not concern us here. The empire of the sea had already vanished ; the Portuguese restrictions and passport regulations were soon disregarded, and could not be enforced, and trade found new channels and new marts. As regards territory, some of the most notable losses have already been stated. Their fortresses and factories in

Malabar, in Ceylon, and in the Eastern Archipelago were forcibly wrested from them by the Dutch ; the few still remaining to them on the western coast of India have been left to them by the English as undesirable or unnecessary acquisitions. Chaul and Bassein, it is true, are now British, but they were taken, not from the Portuguese, but from their intermediate conquerors, the Mahrattas. Diu and Goa still remain in Portuguese occupation, but their possession is rather as custodians of some ancient monument than as administrators of an integral part of modern India.

Of the remains of great Goa I have been enabled to give some illustrations to this volume from a collection of photographs obtained for me by my friend Mr. W. Lee Warner, Secretary to Government at Bombay. The interior of the Franciscan church is given as a sample of the fine proportions and elaborate decoration of the Goa churches. This edifice, 190 feet in length and 60 feet in breadth, is described by Careri as "one of the best churches in Goa, with a roof curiously adorned with fretwork, and it is like one entire mass of gold, there being so much of this metal on its altars." "It recalls to memory", says Fonseca, "the numerous triumphs which were commemorated within its walls amid pomp and pageantry, the solemnity with which crowds of proselytes were baptised, the *autos da fé* celebrated in the presence of the viceroy and his court, and the funeral obsequies of many illustrious persons."

The magnificent shrine of St. Francis Xavier, the gift of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, of which an illustration is given opposite page 62, is likely to remain the most enduring memorial of Portuguese India. On the last exposition of the body of the Apostle, in 1859, it is computed that no less than 200,000 persons collected from all parts to do homage at this shrine.

The Arch of the Viceroy, which is presented opposite p. 47, was built in 1597-9 by the viceroy Francisco da Gama, principally to commemorate his grandfather, the great discoverer, whose statue appears in the lower niche. Above is seen the image in bronze of St. Catherine, the patroness of Goa. Between the niches runs the following legend :

“REINÃO EL R. D. PIELIPE Iº POS A CIDADE AQUI DOM VASCO DA GAMA Iº Co|NDE ALMIRANTE DESCOBRIDOR E CONQUISTADOR DA INDIA SENDO VI|ZOREI O CONDE DOM FRANCISCO DA GAMA SEU BISNETO. O ANNO D. 97. JULIUS SIMON. ING. MA. INV.”¹

Soon after the erection of this arch, which Francisco da Gama had compelled the municipality to build against their will, the count's enemies (who were many) suborned a French engineer to remove and cast down the statue of Vasco, which was done secretly by night ; the discoverer was quartered in contempt of his unpopular grandson, and the broken pieces were exposed in different parts of the town. The statue now seen in the niche was substituted a year or two later.

¹ F. N. Xavier, *Ser. Chron.*, pp. 7, 8.

The portraits of the two governors of India of this period, the Archbishop Menezes (opp. p. 89) and André Furtado de Mendoça (opp. p. 267), have been obtained from the Resende MS. at the British Museum through the courtesy of Mr. W. de Gray Birch and the Trustees.

The number of illustrations thus selected as of especial value in connection with the narrative, has prevented me from utilising some interesting photographs of Portuguese Malacca which were sent to me by my friend, Sir Frederick Dickson, K.C.M.G., whose kindness I desire here to acknowledge.

Finally, I would record my obligations (which I omitted by an oversight to express in the introduction to vol. i) to Mr. W. Logan, of the Madras Civil Service, for his assistance in the elucidation of some topographical and other details in the author's description of the Malabar coast.

It has been found necessary, owing to the unusual proportions of these volumes, to divide the second, for purposes of publication, into two Parts. The author's departure from Goa seems a fitting point at which to close the first ; in the second will be found the description of the homeward voyage, the residence in Brazil, and the supplementary chapters.

A. G.

■

CHRONOLOGY OF PYRARD'S VOYAGE.

(VOL. II.)

INCLUDING PRINCIPAL EVENTS MENTIONED OR REFERRED TO.

1598. Philip II assigns the sovereignty of the Netherlands to the Archduke Charles and the Infanta Isabella ; death of Philip II, and accession of Philip III.
- 13 Feb. 1600. First Voyage of English East India Company, under Lancaster (returned Sept. 1603).
- 16 March „ Capture of Kunhali's fort by Furtado de Mendoça.
- 25 Dec. „ Ayres de Saldanha assumes office as 17th Viceroy of India.
- 18 May 1601. The *Croisant* and *Corbin* leave S. Malo.
- July 1602. Wreck of the *Corbin* at the Maldives.
1603. Death of Queen Elizabeth ; accession of James I.
- 23 March 1604. Second Voyage of English East India Company, under H. Middleton (returned 1606).
- 17 April „ Van der Hagen before Mozambique.
1605. Capture of Amboyna and the Moluccas by the Dutch under Van der Hagen.
- Jan. „ Martim Affonso de Castro assumes office as 18th Viceroy of India.
1606. Expedition of the Spaniards to the Moluccas ; capture of Ternaté and Tidore.
- May „ De Castro with powerful fleet leaves Goa for Malacca ; Archbishop Menezes, Governor of India.
- 30 May „ Siege of Malacca by the Dutch, under Matelief.
- June „ Matelief destroys the Portuguese fleet.
- „ „ Third Voyage of English East India Company, under Keeling and Hawkins.
- Feb. 1607. Pyrard leaves the Maldives for Chittagong.
- „ „ Commencement of peace negotiations in the Netherlands.
- 29 March „ First siege of Mozambique, by Van Caerden (raised, 29th June).

- 25 April 1607. Destruction of the Spanish fleet in Gibraltar Bay, by Heemskerk ; death of Heemskerk.
- 4 May „ Armistice between Spain and the United Provinces.
- May-June „ Residence of Pyrard with the Malabar pirates.
- 3 June „ Death of the Viceroy de Castro at Malacca.
- June „ Arrival of Pyrard at Calicut.
- 17 Oct. „ Arrival of P. van Caerden with Dutch fleet before Goa.
- Feb. 1608. Pyrard leaves Calicut ; taken prisoner to Cochin.
- 29 March „ Conde de Feira leaves Lisbon as 19th Viceroy.
- 15 May „ Conde de Feira dies off coast of Guinea.
- June „ Pyrard arrives at Goa.
- 28 July „ Second siege of Mozambique, by Verhoeven (raised, 24th August).
- 24 Aug. „ Arrival of W. Hawkins at Surat ; he proceeds to Agra.
- (?) Sept. „ Pyrard visits Diu and Cambaye.
- 17-27 Sept. „ Verhoeven with Dutch fleet blockades Goa.
- (?) Oct. „ Pyrard leaves Goa with the Portuguese fleet for Ceylon and Malacca.
- Feb. 1609. Departure of the traveller H. de Feynes (Count de Monfart) from Goa.
- 8 April „ Truce of twelve years between Spain and the United Provinces, signed at the Hague.
- 26 May „ Arrival of the traveller Mocquet at Goa.
- 27 May „ D. André Furtado de Mendoça assumes office as Governor of India.
- 5 Sept. „ D. Ruy Lourenço de Tavora assumes office as 20th Viceroy of India.
- 21 Sept. „ Edict for the expulsion of the Moors from Spain.
- 26 Dec. „ Departure of Furtado and Mocquet from Goa.
- 3 Feb. 1610. Departure of Pyrard from Goa in the *N. S. de Jesus*.
- 14 May „ Assassination of Henry IV of France.
- 31 May „ The *N. S. de Jesus* doubles the Cape.
- 25 June „ Arrival at St. Helena.
- 10 Aug. „ Arrival at Bahia ; discharge and abandonment of the carrack.
- 7 Oct. „ Pyrard embarks in a Flemish hulk for Europe.
- 3 Nov. „ Pernambuco sighted.
- 5 Jan. 1611. The Azores sighted.
- 15 Jan. „ Pyrard lands at the Bayonne islands, and proceeds to Santiago Compostella.
- 3 Feb. „ Pyrard embarks at Corunna for La Rochelle.
- 5 Feb. „ Arrival at La Rochelle.
- 16 Feb. „ Returns to Laval.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

- Page 4, line 6 from bottom, for "hours", read "days".
- Page 12, line 4 from top, for "then", read "there".
- Page 18, line 9 from top, for "this one", read "the large one".
- Page 21, line 15 from top, omit "had".
- Page 22, line 17 from top, omit "that", and insert "Gaspard Aleman by name, who".
- Page 32, line 10 from bottom, for "miles", read "leagues".
- Page 32, last line, for "each has its parish church and others", read "the island has its parishes, as well as other churches".
- Page 33, line 2 from top, for "Daugin", read "d'Augin".
- Page 33, line 4 from bottom, for "ticket or token", read "stamp or mark"; and for "They carry this ticket wet with ink", read "The stamp is steeped in ink and applied".
- Page 33, line 3 from bottom, omit "clapping it on there".
- Page 35, line 8 from top, for "three", read "very".
- Page 46, line 16 from bottom, for "less", read "more".
- Page 47, line 8 from top, after "seen", insert "The gate of this esplanade is near the great gate of the town, which is beneath the viceroy's palace".
- Page 52, line 5 from top, for "*ruo*", read "street".
- Page 62, line 5 from top, for "1553", read "1552".
- Page 83, line 2 from bottom, for "to officers", read "in offices".
- Page 89, line 17 from top, for "a dish", read "dishes".
- Page 95, line 11 from top, after "him", insert "for I came away at the time".
- Page 105, line 18 from top, for "crossings", read "crossways".
- Page 106, note 2, for "January", read "February".
- Page 114, line 1, add note, "Probably miswritten for *Moe tol*, the first part of the word being the Maldivé *moya*, 'foolish'."
- Page 116, line 7 from bottom, *dele* "and".
- Page 120, note 2, for "envooloit", read "enrooloit".
- Page 121, note 2; so, too, De Couto makes his *Soldado* say, "Just as the poets relate that those who passed the river Lethe lost all memory, so do most of the viceroys on rounding the Cape of Good Hope lose everything, including fear of God and of the King" (*Soldado Pratico*, Sc. 6).
- Page 124, line 5 from bottom, for "Ten", read "Twelve".
- Page 131, line 2 from end of chapter, for "six sols", read "five sols".
- Page 145, line 2, The king whom André Furtado conquered was not Don Juan, but the Tamil King of Jaffna.
- Page 203, note, for "Portuguese merchants", read "Portuguese Jews".

DEDICATORY EPISTLE.

TO

MESSIRE

CHARLES DURET,

Sieur de Chevry, Councillor of the King in his Council of State and
Privy Council, President of his Chamber of Accounts in Paris,
and Intendant of his Finances.



ONSEIGNEUR,

I remember, when I had the honour to present to you the first edition of my book, that you not only deigned to receive it with a favourable eye, but also made me so sensible of the effects of your courtesy and liberality, that I have felt myself under great obligation to you from that time on. I have also become aware how your generous courage hath ever led you to all noble and virtuous actions, and how the great offices whereto your merit hath enabled you to attain were alike suitable to your capacity and justly your due. I must frankly avow that all this hath made so deep an impression upon my mind, that for a recognition, according to the littleness of my power, of the benefits and honour which I have received of you, I have deemed it my duty, in acknowledgment of your many praiseworthy qualities, to dedicate to you this second part of my book; wherein you will find, far more amply than in preceding impressions, the continuation of my voyages, and the story of misfortunes and adventures no less various than strange and even wondrous. This, MONSEIGNEUR, I humbly beseech

you to accept as favourably as I freely offer it, and at the same time to collect as it were the last planks of my shipwreck, and to take into your particular protection my miserable fortunes, which for the future I shall esteem happy, if so be that they receive that strong aid which I have ever expected of your natural bounty and humanity; these your qualitics I am constrained to publish abroad, as one who is resolved to remain for the rest of his days,

MONSEIGNEUR,

Your very humble and obedient servant,

FRANÇOIS PYRARD.

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SECOND PART
OF THE
VOYAGE OF FRANÇOIS PYRARD,

FROM HIS ARRIVAL AT GOA TO HIS RETURN TO FRANCE.

I THINK I have been not ill-advised in dividing my voyage into two parts, and thus making a separation ; for this good reason, that after so many years of travail, perils, and misery, there must be some point at which the attentive reader—who, I am assured, has had his share of the fatigue—may conveniently pause for refreshment. Nor, perhaps, could I have divided the story of my voyage at a more fitting juncture. For although the greater part of it remains to be told,—viz., not only the return home, diversified as that was by perils and accidents, but also the sojourn at Goa, and the voyage to Sunda and the Moluccas,—yet was all that mere child's-play in comparison of the tribulation and misfortunes of the first part. Such was my despair of ever again seeing my native land, that the arrival at Goa is like a revival of hope, and the commencement of a happier fortune. Add that thenceforward I have always lived among Christians, and no longer, as before, under subjection to infidels, deprived of the exercise of our Holy Religion.

CHAPTER I.

Arrival at Goa, and description of the hospitals and prisons there.

On our arrival at Goa—the principal seat of Portuguese Government in India, the residence of the Viceroy and the Archbishop, situate under the altitude of 16 degrees towards the Arctic Pole,¹—the general of the fleet that had brought us from Cochin, by name *Don Francisque de Meneiso*,² a near relative of the Archbishop³ (who was then holding the place of the Viceroy, the latter⁴ having died at Malaca, as I shall relate hereafter), sent orders to the captain of the galiot wherein I was to remove the irons from my feet and send me to him. The captain replied that I was so ill that I could not stir, or that I must be carried to the Royal Hospital rather than elsewhere, seeing I was in such a sick and wounded condition. This was done, and the irons were removed from my other foot; and I verily believe that the Holy Spirit had then touched the heart of this captain, who had theretofore been so barbarous and cruel towards me, for none could be more kindly and merciful than he then became. The good monk, *Frère Manuel de Christo*,⁵ gave me his benediction, and bade me adieu, both of us shedding tears, saying that he could not hope to see me again for a long while, as his sojourn at Goa was but short, seeing that full soon he was departing for *Chaoul*⁶ in the north. So we parted, to my great sorrow, and to his also.

¹ More precisely, 15° 31' N.

² This Francisco de Menezes does not seem to be mentioned elsewhere. The captain of Cochin at this time was of the same name (see vol. i, 441); as also was the governor of Brazil (see below, ch. xxvi).

³ Fr. Aleixo de Menezes.

⁴ Martin Affonso de Castro (see ch. xi).

⁵ *Supra*, vol. i, 441, 451.

⁶ Chaul (see further, ch. xix).

The captain having received the general's command to have me carried to the hospital, had me landed by means of the seamen or *Lascars*,¹ who laid me on the beach along with one of my companions, who was also sick of an ulcer, the result of a wound in the foot, where gangrene had set in for want of proper treatment, and so grievously that he was like to die.

We were borne to the hospital by Caffres, who do the work of porters and carriers, no carriages being used there. They put us down upon seats at the gate and in the shade. There we remained a full hour, the officers of the hospital being at dinner, for it was about mid-day. Viewing it from the outside we could hardly believe it was a hospital; it seemed to us a grand palace, saving the inscription above the gate, *Hospitale del Rey nostro Signoro*. On one side of the gate are the arms of Castille and of Portugal²; on the other those of the Portuguese Indies, viz., a sphere. At length we were admitted within a large gateway, where were a number of chairs and seats, upon which they lay the sick as they come in from time to time. Nothing is done until the physician, surgeon, or apothecary has seen them and certifies that they are sick, and of what ailment, that so they be placed in the proper part of the building. We were examined with many others that were there, including some people of quality that were brought in *palanquins*,³ or litters. We were then carried

¹ See vol. i, p. 438.

² Mr. Rivara doubts whether the arms of Castille were here at all, for the two crowns of Spain and Portugal were never in fact united, and throughout the Spanish domination India was governed from Lisbon as a dependency of Portugal. The hospital is now in ruins, and the arms in question have disappeared. However, the arms of the two crowns are never elsewhere found in conjunction. I may remark, too, that letters of this period from the King of Spain to native princes invariably run—"I, Philip King of Portugal" (without mention of Spain); and that Philip II of Spain became Philip I of Portugal, and so on.

³ Hind. *pālākī*, Pāli *pallanko*, Skt. *palyaṅka* (see further Yule's *Gloss.*, s. v. "Palankeen"). The form in use at Goa is seen by Linschoten's illustration of it.

up a lofty and magnificent stone staircase, all the sick being kept in the upper story, and none below, except when the number is very great,—as, for instance, on the arrival of the carracks from Portugal. As soon as we had our place assigned to us, the Jesuit doctor and superintendent of the house ordered that we should be properly attended to; so it was that two beds were brought for us. As soon as a sick person is cured and gone forth, his bed (called *esquif*¹) is removed with all its apparel. Thus there are no beds made except there be sick to occupy them. These beds were speedily prepared. They are beautifully shaped, and lacquered with red varnish; some are chequered and some gilded; the sacking is of cotton, and the pillows of white calico filled with cotton; the mattresses and coverlets are of silk or cotton, adorned with different patterns and colours. These are called *Gouldrins*.² The sheets, etc., are of very fine white cotton. Then came a barber, who shaved all our hair off; then an attendant brought water and washed us all over, and gave us drawers, a white shirt, a cap, and slippers, and also placed beside us a fan and an earthenware bottle of water for drinking, and a chamber-pot, besides a towel and a handkerchief, which were changed every three hours. We had nothing to eat at that time, for we had to await the ordinary. Be it noted that the superiors and officers of this hospital are Portuguese; the servants are Bramenis, or Christian Canarins of Goa, who have to feed and attend upon the sick with great care, and to be always at hand, and who dare not disobey any

¹ Port. *esquife*, “a narrow bedstead used in hospitals or for the siesta” (D. Vieira); “petit canot, cercueil, petit lit d’hôpital” (Roquette). In French it was, formerly at least, used both for a bier and a small boat; our “skiff” has only the latter meaning.

² Hindustānī *gādrī*, a quilt. Below (ch. xix) he mentions them by their Portuguese name, *colcha*. Linschoten (i, 62) combines the two: “They make also faire coverlits which they call Godorins Colchas, which are very fair and pleasant, stitched with silke, and also of cotton of all colours and stitchings.”

sick person when he asks anything in reason. These are salaried servants; and the Portuguese officers every hour visit all the sick to see if they want anything, and whether they be doing anything prejudicial to their health, or contrary to the doctor's orders.

In the evening they brought us supper at the appointed hour, to each a large fowl roasted, with some dessert, so we were astonished at the good cheer we received. Next morning we were surprised to see our other companion, who came not only to see us, as we supposed, but by command of the general, who gave him an order to be brought there, and a recommendation to the Father superintendent, although he was only suffering from fatigue. We did not know the reason of this at the time, but afterwards learned that he was anxious not to be treated as a prisoner any sooner than we were; but more of this anon.

This hospital¹ is, as I believe, the finest in the world, whether for the beauty of the building and its appurtenances, the accommodation being in all respects excellent, or for the perfect order, regulation, and cleanliness observed, the great care taken of the sick, and the supply of all comforts that can be wished for, whether in regard to doctors, drugs, and appliances for restoring health, the food that is given to eat, or the spiritual consolation that is obtainable at any hour.

¹ The Royal Hospital of Goa was certainly a splendid institution, and this account of it is the best extant. Linschoten mentions it without detail (i, 237); V. le Blanc says it excelled that of the Holy Ghost at Rome, or the Infirmary of Malta. It was founded by Albuquerque, on the capture of the city, and was the care and pride of successive kings and viceroys (see numerous references to it in the *Liv. das Monç.* and the *Arch. Port. Or.*). No doubt the order and regularity, the cleanliness and good living, readily won the admiration of a traveller who had gone through so much as Pyrard: these were provided under an elaborate code of rules (given in the *Arch. Port. Or.*, Fasc. 5, No. 838). There was, however, something radically wrong in its management, and our author curiously mentions below the frightful death-rate at this time, without casting any reflections on the authorities.

It is of very great extent, situated on the banks of the river, and endowed by the Kings of Portugal with 25,000 *perdos*¹ (each worth 25 sols of our money, and in that country 32½ sols), let alone the endowments and presents which it receives from the lords. This is a large revenue for the purpose in those parts, seeing food is so cheap, and the management so good; for the Jesuits who carry it on send as far as Cambaye and elsewhere for wheat, provisions, stuffs, and all other necessities. It is managed and governed by the Jesuits,² who appoint a Father to the post of governor. The other officers are Portuguese, all men of quality and gentility; as for the servants and slaves, they are Christian Indians. The Jesuit Father is superior over all the rest, who are like the inmates of a large monastery, each having his own office; even the porter at the gate is one of them. These officers chide the sick much, and rate them when they see them do anything they ought not to do; but the servants durst not say a word. The slaves do all the vile and dirty work, going every day through all the chambers of the sick with large pitchers, whereinto they void all the vessels, scrubbing and cleaning everything. There are private places with large earthenware basins for the necessities of the sick; these are emptied out by the slaves, who also bleach, wash, and dry all the linen, and perform other services within the hospital walls. There are physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries, barbers and bleeders, who do nothing else, and are bound to visit each of the sick twice a day. The apothecary is one of the household, and lives in the hospital, and has his shop well

¹ See Col. Yule's long article on the *pardão* (*Gloss.*, Suppl.). It was the same as the *xeraphin*, five tangas. At this time, by Col. Yule's reasoning, which seems conclusive, it was worth from 4s. 2d. to 4s. 6d., which would make the endowment considerably over £5,000.

² It was managed by the *Santa Casa de Misericordia* till 1591, in which year the Jesuits took it over at the king's request. In 1596 they gave it up, but resumed the management again in 1597 (*Fonseca*, pp. 229, 230).

stocked at the hospital's expense ; but the physicians and surgeons are not of the household, having their residences in the town.

The sick are sometimes very numerous, and while I was there there were as many as 1,500,¹ all of them either Portuguese soldiers or men of other Christian races of Europe, of every profession and quality, who are all received; for the Indians are not taken in there, having a hospital apart, endowed by the townspeople, wherein are received only Christian Indians. There is still another hospital for the women of the Christian Indians, also endowed by the town, to which women only may go.

All the water which is drunk on the premises comes from *Banguenin*.² Twice a day the servants fetch large pitchers of this water, wherewith they fill the vessels of the sick, who may drink as much as they like. Each sick person has a little table by his side for keeping his conveniences upon.

The physicians, apothecaries, and surgeons visit the sick twice a day, at 8 o'clock in the morning and at 4 in the evening; when they enter a bell is rung for an advertisement, as also is done at the hours of meals. The masters, surgeons, and lords are assisted by many others in the applying of unguents and medicines. During these visits to the sick some servants of the hospital accompany them, bearing large lighted braziers, casting forth much incense and other aromatic odours.

Some Jesuit novices are employed in searching for and collecting old linen throughout the town for the use of the

¹ Linschoten (i, 237) says that 500 at least in the year entered it, "and never come forth till they are dead". Mandelslo, who visited it in 1639, says it was "able to lodge above a thousand sick persons" (p. 101).

² A small village in the parish of St. Peter, to the west of the city. The fountain of Banguenin was the most cherished possession of old Goa, being its sole good well (cf. *Linsch.*, i, 183 ; *V. le Blanc*, i, 77). It is almost superfluous, however, to quote the latter, as most of his facts and names as to Goa seem to be taken from Pyrard.

hospital, for new would not be proper. Servants follow the surgeons with large baskets of lint and prepared linen.

The Jesuit Fathers have taken this hospital in charge, and most worthily acquit themselves therein; were it in the hands of others it could hardly be maintained upon twice the present revenue. In this hospital are apartments for each ailment. No one is allowed to enter the precincts without being searched, to see if he be bringing to any sick person any article of food or drink injurious to his health. No arms are carried within : they must be left at the gate.

People are allowed to enter the hospital to visit their friends only between 8 o'clock and 11 in the morning, and after dinner between 3 and 6. The sick are allowed to eat with them; and when the servants see a friend come to visit a patient, they bring a larger portion than the ordinary. As much bread is given as is asked for. The loaves are small; sometimes three or four are brought for a single sick person, and very often they cannot eat one. Much would be lost if the loaves were larger, for a loaf once broken is never served a second time. The bread is very delicate, and is made by the bakers of the town by contract. There is no word of wine for the sick inmates, although they have a stock of wines of Spain, Portugal, and the Indies; but it is not allowed to be given without the doctor's order, and this is granted but rarely. They give them no less than a whole chicken, roast or boiled, or a half chicken, for they have no capons. If one desires or requires more he gets it. The sick are tended and treated there with all possible propriety and delicacy. Every three days they have an entire change of linen, which is of very fine cotton.

At 7 o'clock in the morning they bring the sick their breakfast of white wheaten bread, and rice cooked with milk and sugar; the rice is brought from Cambaye and Surrate. Water is drunk, wine not being allowed. At 10 o'clock dinner is brought, conformably to the doctor's orders, most

frequently consisting of boiled or roast fowls, with preserves for dessert. At 5 o'clock supper is served; they get excellent soups, made of divers meats cooked with *Boues*,¹ which is a cooling fruit, as large as our cucumbers. These meats are mutton, fowl, and chicken, well served with rice. Meat is eaten every day, except by those who prefer eggs and fish on fast days: for they get anything they ask for, unless it is forbidden by the doctor. When the doctor makes his visits he is accompanied by a number of writers. In the first place the apothecary takes the names of such as have to receive anything in his line, and then what each has to get. The same is done by the surgeons, bleeders, and clerk of the kitchen. For a clerk of the kitchen goes twice a day to see all the sick, and writes down their names and what they like to eat, and that is brought to them; nor has anyone a fault to find for not getting his ordinary at the accustomed hour.

All the plates, bowls, and dishes are of China porcelain. After the dinner the Portuguese officers go and visit all the sick, asking aloud through all the rooms whether everyone has had his ordinary, and so they do after supper. All the sick are lodged separately, according to their ailments, and all the utensils even have their own rooms apart. All the cots are in one large place, with their bands to form the bed rolled up; in another all the pillows; in another all the mattresses, coverlets, and so with the sheets, shirts, and other linen for the use of the hospital. They have a large stock of drawers, without which no Portuguese in India ever sleeps: these reach down to the feet, because all their shirts are very short, coming down no lower than the mid-thigh. In the same way there are separate places for slippers,

¹ This would seem to be a kind of pumpkin, but I cannot trace the word. Mr. F. N. Xavier gives the word *Bus*, meaning cereals in general, in the *Novas Conquistas*. Rivara translates it *Bendés*, that is, the Bendy or bandicoy (*Abelmoschus esculentus*), as to which see Yule, *Gloss.*, s. v.

vessels, and pots of various use. As for shirts and drawers, hats, boots, stockings, nightcaps, and jackets, which they give the patients on their recovery, all these are kept separate. Of each of these articles there is so great a number that it would be impossible to keep them in order unless they were thus kept apart. So, too, with the food and provisions, each room has its own officer, who keeps the key, and puts into writing the account of the contents, whereof he gives a memorandum to the principal writer, who keeps an inventory of everything, even of the sick, their names, and the days of their arrival and departure. There is also a treasurer for the money. All these account to the Jesuit Father, who accounts to none.

The clerk keeps an account of all the gold, silver, clothes, goods, and other property of the sick, which he registers in presence of the Father and the other officers; the whole is made into a bundle, with a ticket bearing the name of the owner stitched upon the bundle, and put away in a separate room. Their soiled linen is washed for them. The sick, if they have the means, and are so minded, give something to the servants, and a general account is stated upon their departure,—for none of their own things are used in the hospital; and if a sick person dies all his property is carried off to the *Misericorde*.¹ If the deceased has made a will, the fraternity, called the *Hermanos de la Misericorde*, become his executors; if there is no will, they preserve the property and await news of the heirs: if these be found, all is delivered to them; but they always give a portion to the *Misericorde*. If no heir is found, then upon the return of the next post from Portugal, where the matter is advertised, the *Misericorde*

¹ The *Santa Casa de Misericordia* at Goa was an offshoot of the great charitable fraternity of Portugal, the *Irmandade de Misericordia*, which in 1498 superseded the *Irmandade de Piedade*. There were similar fraternities at Cochin, Chaul, Ormuz, etc. Mr. J. G. da Cunha says that the ruins of the *Misericordia* at Chaul are still known by the natives by the name *Misri*.

disposes of all the gold, silver, goods, and clothes, the proceeds being given to the poor. The sick are washed twice a day, and the whole hospital cleaned. Two Jesuits, and more if need be, are in attendance, who do nothing else but go round confessing and comforting the sick, administering the sacrament, and giving them beads for saying their prayers. Mass is celebrated every day: in short, they are supplied with everything they require.

The sick are laid in large beds at two feet distance one from another, and upon several mattresses of cotton or tafetas, piled one upon another. The cots are low, painted of all colours, and supplied with curtains.

The most common ailments of the country are burning fevers and dysenteries, besides the venereal diseases, which are very prevalent, but only where the Portuguese are, and not elsewhere in India. If the sick die and have entrusted any property, even their accoutrements, to the Jesuit Father, all such is delivered into the hands of the officers of the Misericorde, which fraternity are obliged to bury the corpse honourably, though the deceased may not have had or left any sufficient means for the purpose.

If, however, the patient recovers his health, the Jesuit Father restores to him all his property, besides giving to every person that goes forth of the hospital a complete suit of clothing, if he has need of it, and a *perdo*, equal to 32½ sols. However rich a man may be, there is none but will gladly have himself taken to this hospital, to get better treatment than at his own house, as indeed he will.

In every year more than 1,500 corpses are removed from this hospital, while the number of sick admitted is infinite.¹

¹ There may be a confusion here, the number 1,500 being already given as the number of inmates when he was there (cf. Linschoten's statement cited above, p. 7, *note*). The king, in his despatch of 17th Feb. 1607, writes that he is informed that every year from 300 to 400 Portuguese, between the ages of 18 and 30, die in the hospital, and in some years many more.

Inasmuch as the arrival of the fleet from Portugal sometimes brings more than 300, the least number of inmates is from 300 to 400. Only Portuguese and old Christians are admitted for treatment then. Yet true it is that some Jews among the companies arriving from Portugal pass for Portuguese, though they be only new Christians. All men that come with the Portuguese from these parts, all such being called *Homo Branco*, *i.e.*, white men, or old Christians, are welcomed there. No women are allowed to enter, sick or sound. Nor are any householders received, neither men, women, nor children, nor any Portuguese servants: there are others established for them, if they be poor. This hospital is only for the *Soldades*, that is, for such as are not married or domiciled, but are soldiers of fortune. In short, only those that are not married, nor belong to a household, nor are servants, are taken in; and among those that go there are often gentlemen of good family, there being no dishonour in the matter,—for, indeed, it is for these gentlemen and soldiers of fortune that these hospitals have been established in the cities of the Indies. Sometimes they are visited by the archbishop, the viceroy, and many lords, who make gifts to them of large sums of money: and everyone takes pleasure in seeing so splendid a place, where all the rooms are clean and white as paper. The galleries, too, are finely painted with stories from the Holy Scriptures.

There are two churches in the hospital, both enriched with the finest decoration possible. The one is upstairs, at the end of the great hall, for the worst patients, who hear mass there: it is dedicated to Our Lady. The other is below, dedicated to St. Martin, for those in better case, who hear service there when they please, along with the officers and domestics of the house. The greatest festival of the hospital is that of St. Martin, which is the day of the dedication of that church,—for that was the same day on which the Bastion, whereon this church has been built, was captured from the idolaters

by the Portuguese.¹ On that day they make a general procession.² All the Portuguese and Metifs, of whatever quality and condition, who have any ailment, secret or other, if they desire to be treated and tended at that place at day-break when the surgeons are there, are permitted to go without any cost to themselves. As soon as a man is better they dismiss him. If, however, one wishes to stay a while longer, he has no scruples to say that he has become worse. Continuing fevers they cure promptly by bleeding, which they resort to continually, and so long as the slightest fever is present. The idolater Indians use not bleeding at all. As for the pox, it is no mark of shame there, nor any disgrace to have had it several times: they even make a boast of it. They cure it without sweating, with China root. This malady prevails only among the Christians, and they prefer it to fever or dysentery. Another ailment is prevalent which attacks them suddenly, called *Mordessin*,³ and is accompanied

¹ This is an error. As he will tell us himself, Goa was taken on St. Catherine's Day (25th Nov.), and there was no previous assault, certainly none on St. Martin's Day, the 11th. Besides, the origin of this chapel is well known. It celebrated the victory of João de Castro at Diu in 1546, won on St. Martin's Day. When the victor entered Goa in triumph, part of the city wall adjacent to the hospital was broken down to give passage to the procession, and at the breach first a niche, and afterwards a chapel, was dedicated to St. Martin. A slab in the wall at the niche commemorating the event was, on the downfall of the hospital building in last century, transferred to the chapel of St. Catherine, where it now is. It has a figure of St. Martin on horseback, and bears the inscription, "Por esta porta entrou D. João de Castro, Defensor da India, quando triumphou de Cambaya e todo este muro lhe foi derrubado. Era de 1547 A." (*Correa*, iv, 637; Couto, *Dec. VI*, liv. iv, c. 6; Sousa, *Or. Cong.*, Pt. I, *Cong.* i, Div. i, 37; Rivara, *ad loc.*; *Fonseca*, p. 227).

² This procession continued to 1830, the home government then refusing to sanction the charge of the expenses to the public treasury.

³ *I.e.*, cholera. According to Col. Yule, the word is the Konk. or Mah. *modachī*, or *modshī* (see the interesting article in his *Glossary*, s. v. "Mort-de-chien", to which form the French missionaries seem to have the credit of reducing the word).

with grievous headache and vomiting, and much crying, and most often they die of it. They are very subject to poisoning and bewitchments, whereof they die in a decay. When the carracks arrive from Portugal the greater number of the sick are ill of the scurvy, and with ulcers on the feet and legs. When one has taken medicine, or is weak, he has servants charged to look after him, to raise him, and carry him. These are Christian Indians; they are neatly dressed and clean, and very soft and agreeable in their manner: for if one of them were rude to the sick, he would be expelled at once. Medicine is practised there as in Spain. It is of great honour and profit to be physician of this hospital; he is usually physician to the viceroy, and brought out of Portugal.¹ The Jesuit Father who has the superintendence remains in office as long as the Company please, and as he is thought fit for the work: two or three years, more or less. The Jesuit Fathers frequently send out a change of spiritual Fathers; the Father Superior, however, has the combined administration of spiritual and temporal affairs in the hospital, and gives his orders to all.

As for the building, it is very large and ample; it has many galleries, porticoes, ponds, and gardens with pretty walks, where the patients that are beginning to recover go to

¹ As he says above, p. 7, the physician and surgeon did not reside in the hospital. In 1605, the municipality, calling the king's attention to the frightful mortality (*supra*, p. 11, *note*), attributed it largely to the inexperience of the physicians who came out with each viceroy, and were forthwith appointed to the charge of the hospital. In three years, and often less, when they were beginning to understand their work, they were superseded on the arrival of a fresh viceroy. This complaint was repeated in 1606, and in Jan. 1607 the king directs that the physician and surgeon of the viceroy be not appointed, but that these offices be given to the men of the greatest experience and skill (see *Arch. Port. Or.*, Fasc. i, 2nd ed., 2nd part, 186; *Liv. das Monç.*, i, 85). This order is repeated 23rd Jan. 1610 (*Liv. das Monç.*, i, 303), but withdrawn by the despatch of 30th Jan. 1613 (*op. cit.*, ii, 300). Probably while in force it was not obeyed.

take the air and a bath : for they get a change of air as soon as they begin to get better, and are placed with such of the rest as are not more sick than themselves.

Throughout the whole hospital there are lamps, lanterns, and candles at night-time, but more lamps are used, as the candles are, of wax. The lanterns are made of oyster-shells, as is all the glazing in the churches and houses of Goa.¹ In the midst of this hospital there is a handsome, large, paved court, in which is a large well where the sick bathe themselves betimes, as has been said. The Portuguese and the Metif householders who are sick and in need are treated at their houses by the Misericordia and by the wealthy, who let them want for nothing. There are other hospitals for the natives of the country that are in the town : these are for Christian Indians only.² The town possesses two hospitals, one for women, the other for men ; but these are in fact one only, being merely separated for the sexes.

The poor Portuguese and Metifs never go a-begging, but they send petitions to the rich ; and their women have themselves borne in a palanquin to the residence of the viceroy, the archbishop, and the great lords, and present their requests and petitions in person. In short, it would be impossible to describe all the other peculiar customs of the place, and the perfect order and regularity preserved in this admirable hospital. Thus, if a person is wont to have himself purged or bled every year, though he be not otherwise ailing, if he goes there he will be admitted for the period of his purgation.

But to return to my companion and myself. After we had been carried into the hospital and admitted, on the following day the general of the fleet that had brought us sent

¹ "Large windows (in the houses at Bassein), two stories high, with panes of oyster-shell, which is their usual glazing among them in India" (*Fryer*, 74). Mr. Fonseca (p. 158) says that this is still the fashion at Goa.

² Noted also by Linschoten (i, 237).

thither our other companion also, as I have said. We were all then given in charge of the Jesuit Father, under an order that we were not to be let go without previous notice given to the general, who is called the *Capitan Mayor*.¹ The Father would not tell us that we were prisoners in his hands, for fear of saddening us, and he consoled us in every way in his power, and gave us as good treatment as the greatest of the Portuguese: though, forsooth, it would have been difficult to treat us any better than the rest, all being so well and indifferently treated, both as respects food, medicine, and other treatment, and each being served in his turn and according to written prescription, without any difference between gentle and simple. Seeing ourselves to be thus well treated, we believed we were already at liberty, inso-much that at the end of twenty days, when I began to feel better, I spoke with the Father, and told him, thanks to God, I was well, and wished to depart with the one of my companions. But the Father asked what haste we were in, and that we should wait till our other companion was cured. That, however, was a long business, for it was more than three months ere he was brought round. But we did not learn the reason of his answer, for he wished first to have a word with those who had put us in his hands, knowing well as he did that when we went forth we should not be so well dealt with. Wherefore he was ever putting off our departure, though we pressed him with our desire that we had to see that fine town whereof we had heard such an account. He having at length given notice to the general, five or six days thereafter came two *Merignes*² with their *Pions*,³ and demanded us of the Father, waiting at the gate while the Jesuit Father came to us and said: "My friends (*Irmanos*), arise; since you are so desirous to go, permission is now given; follow me"; whereat we followed him joyfully, and he gave

¹ *Capitão Mór*.

² *Meirinhos*.

³ See vol. i, p. 428.

each of us two (for the other was still sick) hose, a doublet, a cassock, shoes, and a hat; two shirts, two pair of drawers, quite new (they do not wear stockings, the breeches reaching down over the feet); also a piece of money, viz., a *pardo*, worth $32\frac{1}{2}$ sols, or about 25 sols in France. Then we had breakfast, though we little required it for the haste we were in to be off. He gave us his benediction, and we took our leave, thanking him for all the kindness he had shown us. I understood shortly after what pity this Father had felt for us, for he gave us all the consolation he could. On descending the grand staircase we met the two sergeants with their writs, and with halberds and partisans: they seized us forthwith, and bore us off in rough sort. When a prisoner is led off, the sergeant walks in front with the *vara*,¹ or stick, while the Pions march behind the prisoner, who is bound with cords, the two ends of which are held by them. I leave you to imagine our astonishment after joy so short, to find ourselves in the hands of these devils of Caffres,² fellows more black than coals.

In such wise did I come out of this hospital. I was there again on another occasion afterwards, when I was ill for fifteen days. Many other times, too, have I gone there to visit my companion and other friends, wherefore I have desired to describe in detail all I have seen and learnt about it, esteeming that there is none other such in all the world. If in the other towns of the Portuguese there are not others of the same kind in proportion to their size, the poor Portuguese are very greatly to be pitied, seeing the great number of them in that land, their poverty of means, and the grievous maladies and infirmities to which they are subject.

Thus were we taken to the prison, which is called the

¹ Port. *vara*.

² Used in the modern sense for natives of the Mozambique coast, large numbers of whom were imported as slaves. At times they gave great trouble by their brawls and robberies (*Liv. das Monç.*, i, 200).

Salle, and not without reason; for it is the most foul and filthy place in the world, as I believe.¹ There are four general prisons at Goa, besides other private ones: the first is that of the Holy Inquisition²; the second is that of the archbishop,³ close to his residence; the third, the *Tronquo*,⁴ at the viceroy's palace, the chief and largest of all; and there is a large wing of the building containing other prisoners of all sorts, the one whither we were taken being in aid of the former. In this one is held once a month a general audience, at which the viceroy is usually present. It is like the Conciergerie here. These prisons at Goa are not so bad as those of Cochin. The Inquisition and the Ecclesiastical Court have two; the archbishop has one of these, and he has power over all the clergy. The Jesuits and he this long while have had a suit at the Court of Rome, they not wishing to have any superior over them but the Pope and their own general.⁵ The judges and officers of the Inquisition are irresponsible judges. Nevertheless, the archbishop still has much power, but he does not use it, for the others hold their offices of the king; but if any of them was guilty of any misfeasance, he would have cognisance of it.

The prison to which we were conducted is in the town,

¹ In orig.: "car c'est le lieu le plus ord et sale qui soit au monde comme ie croy". The play upon the words *salle* and *sale* cannot well be given in English. This was the prison of the Strand (*Ribeira*), where the prisoners condemned to the galleys were kept. It was commonly called *Sala das bragas*, from the *braga* or iron ring which held the prisoner's ankle. (*Rivara*.)

² The prisons of the Inquisition (being more than one) were called *Carceres*. (*Rivara*.)

³ Called *Aljabe*, from the Ar. *al-jabr*, "prison". Dellon writes it *aljowar*.

⁴ *Tronco*, the principal civil prison, as at Cochin (see i, p. 429).

⁵ The Jesuits, by their power at Lisbon and Rome, held their own against all their opponents, who comprised not only the archbishop and the Franciscans, but also the municipality. Those who care to follow the disputes may consult the index to the *Arch. Port. Or.*, and the *Liv. das Monções*.

near the river, and called the prison of the *Viador de fazienda*, who has his house outside the town, but near the river. The *Merigne* made a charge against us on his paper on behalf of the criminal *Oydor*.¹ The gaoler and his wife were Metifs. The gaoler having asked who we were, and learning that we were Frenchmen and Catholics, advised us not to lose heart, and that he would not put us in the Salle with the rest. This Salle is a place where all the galley slaves and other sorts of vile people are cast pell-mell in a stinking air, sometimes two or three hundred and more. No criminals are placed there, except in order to take them afterwards to the Tronquo. It is at the discretion of the gaoler, who is called *Merigne de Salle*, to put everyone indiscriminately in this Salle. Men of quality give him money to get themselves put into private rooms, of which there are two, one for the Gentiles and Mahometans, the other for the Christians. He never grants this favour but for money, save to foreigners like ourselves, who received much kindness and were allowed much liberty, and were not obliged to sleep with a gang of slaves and galley prisoners with irons on their feet. There were lamps lighted, and at one end of the room was the lodging of the *Merigne* or sergeant; at the other, towards the outer gate, was his son, with his servants and slaves keeping guard, because the prison is by no means strong. At the two ends were two bells for finding whether either party slept; for when the father rang his bell, the son replied with the same number of strokes. From the whole body of convicts are taken two squads or watches for keeping guard themselves, and all night long there is nothing but shouts and answers from one squad to the other. The first cries as loud as he can, "*Vigia, vigia!*" i.e., "Wake, wake!" Those who are on the watch for that hour, ten or more, answer one

¹ Port. *Ouvidor*, "one who hears", i.e., a magistrate. Our own judges' commissions used to run,—"*oyer et terminer*", and now "hear and determine"; and we speak of the magistrate *hearing* a case.

after the other. If they are behindhand ever so little, the slaves of the household would come and beat them forthwith. So there is the greatest din possible all night, the which, along with the great heat, prevents the least repose.¹ At nine o'clock in the evening they chant their service and prayers in Portuguese, in a loud voice. The wife and daughters of the gaoler treated us with much kindness, bringing or sending us things to eat and drink without his knowing anything of it. The prisoners are assisted with alms from the well-to-do, and the officers or *Confrères* of the *Miséricorde*, called *Irmanos*, come to visit all the prisoners once a month, as well as all the poor of the town that are on their list. In the same way the poor widows and orphan girls are fed at the expense of this fraternity. Much is given to the old Christians, and a little to the new Indian Christians. The Father for the Christians, who is a Jesuit, comes also and gives to the prisoners; but that does not happen every day. The ordinance of the King of Portugal is, that all prisoners of war and strangers are to be maintained; but the officers embezzle the money that is devoted to the purpose. They should receive six pardos a month each, the same as the pay of soldiers. This is equal to 9 livres 15 sols of our money, and provides better cheer than ten crowns here. We advanced a petition to receive that which the king was pleased to grant us. This was presented by the *Merigne de Salle* to the

¹ Such was a night in Old Goa; and here is one at modern Rio de Janeiro:—"Above the cry of Cicada, and the moaning of sea, and the rustling of palm-leaves, all through the long night, . . . you can hear a strange and melancholy song rising in wild bursts on the night air: a barbaric, monotonous, and sad chorus, such as Israelite bondsmen might have sung long ago in Egypt. And this too is a chorus of bondsmen, of African slaves. For there are limeworks on Paqueta Island; and by night and day, unceasingly the naked blacks toil on in batches. The night watchers are obliged to sing this chorus at intervals, so that their master in his bed, if he chance to awake, may know that they are toiling and watching, and not falling to sleep with weariness" (Knight, E. F., *Cruise of the Falcon* (1884), i, 81).

Viador de Fasienda,¹ by name *Garsias de Mella*, who replied to it; but that was after a very long time, by reason of the great number of hands it had to pass. So we could not get our money till six days before we left the place; and for fear lest any should take it from us, we gave it to the gaoler's wife to keep for us, my companion and I contracting with her to be fed for one *tangue* a day each. This *tangue* is worth seven sous and a half there, or five sous here. She treated us very well for that; but we were set at liberty five or six days afterwards, and this gave rise to a dispute with our good hostess: for when we asked for the remainder of our money she would not give it, saying that she had spent it, and that we might go on eating and drinking in the prison there every day at the agreed price; save on that understanding we should have had nothing. But as we were obliged to provide ourselves with some necessaries, we were much annoyed at this refusal, besides that we had no great wish to return to that gloomy place; and afterwards we were maintained in the town for nothing, as I shall relate anon. Whereupon we went to complain of her (for her husband took no part in the affair) to the *Viador de Fasienda*, who at once ordered our demands to be complied with, though we lost a good part of our money on the account stated. What vexed us most of all in the business was losing in this way the good graces of her, her daughters, and family. When our money was returned to us in the presence of the *Viador* and a number of captains, there was amongst the rest a Castilian captain—the only one I saw there—who, seeing that they

¹ *Vedor da fazenda*, as Linschoten says, "that is, the upper surveyor of the king's goods" (ii, 226). The office of chief *vedor da fazenda* was the most important next to the viceroy at Goa, and to the *capitão de cidade* elsewhere. As there was no efficient audit of his accounts, and it was no crime for a Portuguese at this period to cheat the King of Spain, his embezzlements were on a vast scale. There were several *vedors da fazenda*—e.g., "dos contos", "da carga das naus de Cochim"—as this Garcia de Mello was (*Liv. das Monç.*, i, 104).

did not give us all our money, and that we were dissatisfied, took pity upon us for the trick that had been played upon us, and told us he would recompense us, and would give us the rest of our money at his house, which in fact he did. He told us he was a Spaniard, and not a Portuguese, and was named *Dom Pedro Rodriguez*. He afterwards returned to Portugal with us. A month afterwards the slave of one with whom he had a quarrel gave him a heavy blow on the head from behind with a *bambou* (he was a *Caffre*); but he, not a whit taken aback nor losing time, drew his sword and slew the fellow, and forthwith fled to the church. He had his grace at the end of two hours. But inasmuch as the Spaniards are not very well received there, he was constrained to return to Spain.

The manner of our getting out of this prison was in this wise. After we had been there about a month, that Jesuit Father that is over the Christians came to the prison. He it is who is charged by the Society of the Jesuits to solicit the deliverance and liberty of Christian prisoners. To this end he is bound to visit the prisoners continually, to see if there be any Christians among them, or any that are minded to become Christians, and to be ever soliciting the viceroy or the judges or other parties to obtain their deliverance. So when he came to the prison aforesaid, and on inquiry found that I was a Christian and a Frenchman, he told me to have patience, and that I should full soon be set at liberty, informing me that there was a French Jesuit of Rouen, named *Etienne de la Croix*,¹ who was at the college of *Saint Paul*

¹ Etienne de la Croix, born 1579 at St. Pierre-de-Bogerat (Eure); entered the Society of Jesus 1599; sailed for India 1602. At Goa he was appointed to teach philosophy and theology at the Society's college at Salsette, was master of the novices, and afterwards rector of the college. He was distinguished both for learning and zeal, and enjoyed great influence by reason of his tact and charitable works. Acquiring a knowledge of Canarese and Mahratti, he wrote several works and pieces in those languages; among others, a poem on the Passion, which

de Goa. To him I wrote a letter, and next day he came to me. He was overjoyed to see me, and consoled me, assisting me with some money, and told me he would busy himself on my behalf as if I were his own brother, to get his superior to speak with the viceroy and obtain my liberty.

That Father presented a request to the viceroy,¹ with which, however, the latter refused to comply, at first using great threats, and saying that I ought to be put to death, seeing I had come to that country contrary to the ordinance of the king, and to the treaty of peace between the Kings of France and Spain; that he could not set me free, but would send me prisoner to the King of Spain to do with me as he was pleased. At length this good French Jesuit Father employed such importunity for the space of a month, that I was set at liberty. All the while he failed not to come to see me every day, and aided me by all means in his power, and my companion also.

When we got out of prison we went to eat and drink with the soldiers at divers houses of the lords, so that it cost us nothing to live, for we were enrolled as soldiers. I remained at Goa with the Portuguese for the space of two years, receiving the pay of a soldier, going hither and thither in their expeditions, as well along the coast to the north as far as *Diu* and *Cambaye*, where I remained for a while, as to Cape *Commorin*, and even to the Island of *Ceylan*.

was sung in the college on Sundays during Lent. He died at Goa, 24th Sept. 1643. His only extant work (the copy at the National Library at Lisbon being the only one known) is a discourse in Mahratti verse on the life of St. Peter,—*Discursos sobre la vida do apostolo Sam Pedro . . . compostos em versos lingua bramana marasta. Empressos em Goa, na Casa professa de Jesus*, etc., 1634, tom. 2, fol. (Pinto do Matos, *Biblio. Port.*; Da Silva, *Dict. Biblio. Port.*; Backer, *Bibl. des Ecr. Jes.*; Crét. Joly, *Hist. de la Comp. de J.*; *Lettres Edifiantes*).

¹ Pyrard uses the term viceroy somewhat indiscriminately. At the time of which he is writing (1608) there was no viceroy, but only a governor, viz., the Archbishop Menezes, who held office till May 1609.

But before coming to the description of Goa, I have this further to say of the prisons, viz., that all the others are subsidiary to the *Tronco*, which is the great prison. Also, that while we were still in prison certain Arab prisoners were brought there, all brave men, well behaved and of fine figure. These were the chief men of a vessel, in which all the rest had been left, the soldiers and seamen, as slaves of the King of Portugal. But it happened that the captain, who had captured their ship, and who, on his way from Lisbon to Goa in a galion, had fallen in with them on their way to *Sumatra* in a vessel richly laden with gold and other goods, was so ill-advised that, in the place of these Arabs, he put on board that vessel some Portuguese, and expected her to follow him to Goa. But the Arabs that were left in the vessel rose against the Portuguese, and took the ship and the Portuguese prisoners. They afterwards wrote word to Goa to get the Arabs in exchange for the Portuguese, which was done. This shows that when you take a prize you must put on board men of valour and judgment to man her.

CHAPTER II.

Description of the Island of Goa, the chief inhabitants, and lords.

Goa is an island which was formerly a dependency of the kingdom of *Dealcan*, or *Decan*.¹ It is about eight leagues in circumference, and has seven fortresses guarding the passage. It is surrounded by a river,² which flows from the said king-

¹ He confuses *Hidalcão*, the Port. form of the name of the Bijapur kings, with *Deccan*, the south country (of the Peninsula), generally applied throughout the Port. period to the Bijapur kingdom. *Dealcan* for *Hidalcão* occurs also in Linschoten (i, 176), and in Mocquet (p. 319).

² The *Mandovi*, which rises in the Parvor Ghât, in the province of Sâtari, 38½ miles in length (*Fonseca*).

dom of Dealcan and falls into the sea two leagues from the town, whose foundations it washes. At the mouth of this river are two forts, one on each side, to prevent the entrance of hostile ships. A league up this river is the fort and passage¹ of *Pangim*,² which is in the island. It contains a captain and governor on behalf of the viceroy, who has the absolute command there. All ships and vessels whatsoever must speak there, and receive a passport and quittance, whether inward or outward bound. The vessel is examined and certain dues are paid. In short, it is impossible to pass either by night or by day without his knowledge, inasmuch as the passage is narrow and close to the fort, where a good look-out is kept. On this island the Portuguese have built a fine town, called after the name of the island,³ Goa. It is about a league and a half in circuit, not including the suburbs. It contains a number of forts, churches, and houses

¹ *Passage*, in translation of the Port. *passo*, which Linschoten uses. *Passos* were ferries or gates from the island to the mainland or other islands, each guarded by a fort or guardhouse. Ressende (Sloane MS. 197), in his description of Goa, proceeds by taking these in order, thus *Passo de Ribandar*, *Passo de Daugim*, etc.

² Pangim was the chief fort protecting Old Goa at the time of Albuquerque's assault (*Albuq. Comm.*, ii, 88), and during the whole of the sixteenth century it was so used by the Portuguese (see plan and description in Ressende MS., fol. 248). De Orta (fol. 37) calls it "fortaleza pequena". During the few years before Pyrard's arrival the government constructed a strong fort a little to the west, on the point immediately opposite the fort of *Reis Magos*. This new fort (which Pyrard does not mention) was called that of *Gaspar Dias*, from the previous owner of the site. Fonseca says it was built in 1598, but the despatches in the *Liv. das Monç.* show that it was not complete even in 1607. Pangim is now the capital, and so alternatively called *Nova Goa*. The first step was the removal of the viceregal residence from Goa to Pangim in 1759. The custom-house was removed in 1811, the other public departments followed, and in 1843 Pangim was declared the capital of Port. India by royal decree (*Fonseca*, 99).

³ Not so: the name of the island was *Tissuary*, but commonly called Goa, from the name of the city.

built in the style of Europe, of very fine stone, and roofed with tiles.

It is now about 110¹ years since the Portuguese made themselves masters of this island of Goa, and I have been often astonished how in so few years the Portuguese have managed to construct so many superb buildings, churches, monasteries, palaces, forts, and other edifices built in the European style; also at the good order, regulation, and police they have established, and the power they have acquired, everything being as well maintained and observed as at Lisbon itself.² This town is the metropolis of the Portuguese state in India, which circumstance has acquired for it its power, riches, and celebrity. So, too, the viceroy makes it his residence, and has about him a court like the king himself. Then there is the archbishop, who is over the spiritual affairs,³ the court of parliament,⁴ and the inquisition. Besides the archbishop there is another special bishop for the place, so that it is the headquarters of religion and justice for the whole of India; and all the religious orders have their superiors there. All departures of ships of war, as well as of merchantmen sailing for the King of Spain, are made from this place. For the spiritual affairs of the Indies there are four bishops and an archbishop. The Bishop of Goa has juris-

¹ *I.e.*, from 1618, the year in which this edition was written, as appears towards the end of this chapter. Goa was taken 25th Nov. 1510.

² The current proverb was : “ Quem vio Goa excusa de vêr Lisboa ” (“ If you have seen Goa you needn’t go to Lisbon ”).

³ This archbishop was the first primate of the whole East. Goa had been an archbishop’s see since 1559, and a bishop’s since 1537. Now that the Port. possessions have dwindled, and all the East has vast numbers of Catholics of other races, the *padroado* of the Goa see is a real grievance. But how to get rid of it? It is a question of pride and prestige, and is at present occupying the best brains of Rome and Lisbon.

⁴ Used in the French sense, and meaning the *Relação*, or Royal Court of Justice.

diction as far as *Mozambique*. He of *Cochin* reaches as far north as Barcelor, and to Malaca. Then there is a Bishop of *Malaca*, and another of *Macao* in China, all of whom are subject to the Archbishop of Goa.

It is a marvel to see the great multitude of people that come and go every day by sea and by land, on all manner of affairs. The kings of the Indies that are at peace and friendship with the Portuguese have almost all of them ordinary, and often extraordinary ambassadors there, coming and going in the course of the settlement of treaties, while the Portuguese do the same on their part. As for merchants, who are continually going to and fro the East, there seems to be every day a fair for all the different articles of trade in which they deal.¹ For although there are some kings who are not at peace with the Portuguese, nevertheless their merchandise and produce fail not to come to Goa, brought thither by friendly merchants who go and buy of them. And whatsoever hostility there may be betwixt them, if the Indian enemies would be willing to take a passport and assurance, they might come in all security; but they have too much pride, and prefer to go elsewhere.

All the island of Goa is mountainous and sandy, the soil is red like *Bolarmeny*,² and very pretty pottery and vases of fine quality and design are made of it, as of *terre sigillée*.³ There is found there also another kind of earth even finer in grain and quality, which is blackish or somewhat grey: of this also they make numbers of vessels that are as fine as

¹ Linschoten likens the daily assembly of citizens and merchants at Goa to the "meeting upon the burse in Andwarpe" (i, 184).

² "An astringent earth brought from Armenia, and formerly used as an antidote and styptic" (Murray's *New Eng. Dict.*, s. v. "Bole"); "the astringent and medicinable red earth or mineral called *bole arménie*" (*Cotgrave*).

³ *Terra sigillata*, "a medicinable earth" (*Cotgrave*); also known by the names *terre Guerinienne*, *t. de Lemnos*, *t. Blesienne* (from being found near Blois).

glass. The island is not very fertile,—not that the soil is bad, but by reason of the mountains. For (only) in the more humid hollows and valleys rice and millet are sown which bear twice a year. The country there is always green, as in all the other islands and lands between the two tropics, for the trees and herbs are always green there. There is also a great number of *Palmero* or *orta*,¹ like our orchards here, full of *cocos* trees planted close together; but these grow only in well-watered and low ground. They produce the largest revenues to the Portuguese at Goa. They are enclosed with walls, and, along with a house and pretty garden, are called *orta*, wherein they take their recreation with their families. Water is led thither by canals among the trees, and those who have not this appliance are at great pains to carry water for the trees by hand. They let these gardens to the *Canarins* of Goa, who make a profit and take the produce. This is worth a good deal at Goa, because of the wine, which is in great request. The Portuguese retain some only of these gardens for their own pleasure, and make very pretty alleys and tunnels amid these gardens or orchards, set off with fountains and grottoes. The soil of the island would of itself be good enough, but being full of high mountains, and also of people, and without being very confined, it is found to be unproductive. The inhabitants prefer to work and traffic by sea and land, rather than to amuse themselves with rearing cattle; besides, too, the island is too full of houses and people for that. So it is that the island of Goa produces little of itself, and yet everything is cheap.

This island is formed by the fair broad river which surrounds it, and also forms other islands, which are inhabited by natives and Portuguese. The river is of some depth, but large vessels, such as the carracks and galions of Portugal, on their arrival are stopped at the mouth, which is called the

¹ The Port. *orta*, a garden, came into Anglo-Indian use on the Bombay side as *Oart* (see Yule, *Gloss.*, s. v.)

Bare. They are constrained to halt outside this *bare*, although it is not closed. After being discharged they are taken up before the town, two leagues off. At the entrance to this bar, where the ships lie at anchor both on arrival and departure, there are, as I have said, two fortresses¹ built against the Hollanders and other foreigners, to prevent them from entering and casting anchor in the river, as has been sometimes done by the Hollanders. They forced an entrance, and burnt and sunk a large number of ships that were there, and even held the bar for the space of ten or twelve days, in such wise that not a single boat even could enter to Goa,² while they themselves obtained water and provisions from the land. It is a great misfortune alike for the Portuguese and the Indians, when they arrive a little late at these rivers and bars, to find them choked, as happens there and at Cochin, and at most other places in the Indies during the winter. In that case they must wait and lie at the mercy of the weather and of their enemies, who most often come and destroy them there: for when the bar is thus closed and choked with sand, not a single boat can go in or out, but must wait. Wherefore, before leaving a port, they have to make their calculations to winter wherever they may happen to be. Thus, then, the Portuguese have built these two

¹ At the fortress of *Agoada* on the north, and *Cabo* on the south. These were without the bar, which is that part of the estuary between Bardes and Pangim. The big ships were discharged at Bardes (*Linsch.*, i, 178). As to the position of these forts, see the Chart of Goa from Ressende's MS. in *Albuq. Comm.*, Hak. Soc., vol. ii, at p. 88.

² In chap. xv he refers again to this blockade, but there says it lasted nearly three weeks, and gives the number of Dutch ships as six. The reference (founded on hearsay) is partly to the blockade of Van der Hagen, who with ten (of the thirteen) ships under his command arrived before Goa on the 21st Sept. 1604, and did not leave till the arrival of eleven Portuguese ships of war, on the 14th Oct.; and partly to that of P. van Cardaen, who arrived before Goa on the 17th Oct. 1607, and left on the 20th of the same month. On the first occasion the Dutch did not burn any Portuguese shipping; on the second they burnt the carrack of the admiral of the fleet in which the viceroy, Conde de Fera, had sailed. Pyrard refers several times to this ill-fated fleet.

fortresses to guard their bar and to keep their vessels in security, and to prevent their enemies from approaching and getting water.

At the entering in of this river, on the left hand, is the land of the *Bardez*, belonging to the Portuguese. Here is a very fine spring, whereat departing ships supply themselves with water. It is on the low ground, and from a distance appears to be of white sand. The Portuguese call such places *Agoadas*.¹ At this place is one of these fortresses, a very strong one, and well equipped with cannon.² The land of the *Bardez* is lofty and mountainous. It is opposite to the city of Goa, covering all its northern quarter, opposite to which that fortress is. The other fortress is on a height upon a cape of the island,³ a high rocky promontory opposite the

¹ *Agoada*, a watering-place.

² This fortress was begun some years before, to protect the bar from the Dutch. Its construction was hurried on, the municipality taking for the purpose a duty of one per cent. on all shipping. Although described as above by the author, it was not at this time completed (see *Liv. das Monç.*, i, 334, despatch under date 17th Feb. 1610). An inscription on its main gate records that it was finished in 1612 (Fonseca's *Goa*, p. 40). The fort stands on a high and rocky headland, the citadel being 260 feet above sea level. In the seventeenth century its summit was lighted with a beacon, and is now supplied with a lighthouse. The rock had many springs, one of which has an inscription on the rock dated 1624 (*ib.*). During the British occupation of Goa at the beginning of this century, this fort was described as follows: "The fort of Agoada seems to have consisted originally of nothing but a large battery, nearly on a level with the water. Subsequently a wall was run up the side and along the top of the rock, to secure the rear of the battery, and still more recently a small but strongly built citadel, surrounded by a deep ditch, has been made on the top of the height, and the communications between it and the battery strengthened" (Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 14,384, f. 29).

³ A description of the *Cabo* fortress, so called, as it was in 1634, is given by Ressende (Sloane MS. 197, f. 249; see *Dalb. Comm.*, iii, 278). Its equipment consisted of four bronze guns. Barracks had been begun for a guard of a dozen men, but were never finished; and Ressende has to record that at the time of his report "no captain or Portuguese soldier serves here, but only one negro!" The British report on Goa

first-mentioned fort. On the summit is a handsome monastery of the Capucines, called *Nuestra Señora del Capbo*, that is to say, Our Lady of the Cape.¹ It is well built, and the archbishop often goes there for five or six days at a time for his recreation. All ships, whether galleys or other vessels, entering or departing, and whether for the wars or for traffic, whether Christian or other, salute this monastery in passing with their guns. These forts are very necessary for guarding the entrance of the river and the Agoada spring; yet sometimes they cannot prevent enemies from casting anchor at the bar, and so cutting off the Portuguese vessels. This causes them much trouble; but it is not so easily done now as before these forts were built. The river entrance is very wide, and so continues up as far as the town. There are a large number of heavy wooden piles driven in at divers places in this river, and at certain passages only is the depth sufficient for ships to enter; for there are many shallows in all the river-bed between the bar and the town, so that with all these piles it is a difficult matter to sail inwards and outwards, without passing under the fortress of *Pangin*, where the water is very deep. The fortress is midway between the bar and the town; its position is therefore of great importance, and the captain of it sends at once to examine vessels, and to see their receipts and quittances. They must get his discharge, and pay him certain dues. All

at the beginning of this century thus describes the fortifications :—"A wall is carried across a narrow part near the extreme point of the rock so as entirely to cut it off, and a battery runs along the foot of the rock. The battery is now dismantled and in ruins, and the wall falling to decay" (Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 14,384, f. 29).

¹ He confuses the chapel so named, which was built about fifty years before this time, and the Franciscan monastery, built at the side of the chapel in 1594. The latter was a favourite resort of Archbishop Menezes and succeeding prelates. In modern times it has been converted into a summer palace for the governor (*Fonseca*, p. 44). Note that the author occasionally gives names, etc., in Spanish form. The Port. name here is "Nossa Senhora do Cabo".

other discharges granted at Goa are useless without that one, so the place is worth much to the captain and the writer.

There is very good lodging in this fort. The viceroys on their arrival from Portugal always land and tarry there, till they make their entry and take possession. The palace within it is a handsome and comfortable residence, and the retiring viceroy goes and stays there till he takes his departure : for there are never two viceroys in the city at the same time ; but as soon as the one has delivered over the government to the other, he retires to some place without the town, and there is no more ceremony nor visits paid betwixt them, except such as are formal, even though aforetime they were good friends : such is their pride. This Pangin residence is one of the most beautiful and agreeable in the whole island. The river, as I have said, is a very fine one, and comes from afar, from the countries of the *Dealcan* or *Decan* ; it abounds with fish. It can be navigated in boats for more than thirty miles of the country, and contains a large number of islands peopled with natives, both Christian and Gentile.

Goa is furnished all round its circuit with seven passably good fortresses ; no need, indeed, for them to be very strong, because the river protects them. Among these seven are included the two first named, but not that of the town itself, which contains the viceroy's palace, and is situated on the banks of the river ; adding that, there are eight in all, besides that of Bardes, which protects the spring.¹ They extend entirely round the island, and each has its parish church and

¹ As he is enumerating the forts of Goa Island, he need not have mentioned Bardes ; having mentioned it, he ought to have said "those", viz., Reis Magos and Agoada. By the "two first-named" he must mean *Cabo* and *Pangim*, including with the latter the recently erected but hardly complete fortress of *Gaspar Dias*. The eight, then, are—1, Cabo ; 2, Pangim ; 3, Madre de Deos ; 4, S. Braz ; 5, Santiago ; 6, S. João Baptista ; 7, N. S. de Guadalupe ; 8, The Viceroy's Palace.

others.¹ After the viceroy's comes that of *Madre de Deos*, i.e., Mother of God, otherwise called *Daugin*; there, too, is the parish church of *St. Joseph*, and a Capucine monastery possessing a very fine garden, which is often visited by the viceroys for recreation. This monastery has the same name as the fort. The others are *St. Bracs*; *St. Iago*, which is more than a league and a half from *Madre de Deos*, but is connected with it by a wall, because in the summer the river is very low, and this wall prevents an entrance being made from the mainland; next is the fortress of *St. Jean Baptiste*, and then that of *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*. All are of the same construction, and governed by like rule; each has its prison for keeping suspected persons, as regards whom the captain of the town also is kept well informed. If a slave endeavouring to escape is retaken, he is put in there and kept till reclaimed by his master, who is obliged to pay the expenses of his keeping. The same prevails in all the other lands held by the Portuguese. Each fort has a captain, a writer, and a guard of soldiers; also a bell for making signals. All who leave the island for the mainland, for the purposes of trade or to get provisions—that is, the Indians and Canarins of Goa, as well men as women and children—must go to the captain of the *Cidada* (that is, the city) and get each his ticket or token. They carry this ticket wet with ink upon their arms, which are naked, clapping it on there; then the officers at the gate see it, and after effacing it let them pass,² and each of the two places costs them a *Bouseruque*.³ On

¹ If he means that the forts and parishes were coterminous, he is in error. Old Goa was divided into four parishes in 1545, viz., 1, Cathedral; 2, Rosary; 3, Luz; 4, St. Lucia. In 1594 Archbishop Menezes added four more, viz., 5, St. Alexius; 6, St. Thomas; 7, Trinity; 8, St. Thomas at Pannelim (*C. de Kloguen*).

² Wm. Barret (*Hak.*, i, 217) and Linschoten (i, 180) give practically the same account of this toll; but they both say that the mark was stamped upon the naked arm. Pyrard is probably right.

³ Port. *basaruko*, a base coin of copper, lead, tin, or tutenague, worth

their return they take the same token from the captain of the fort. By this means they ascertain the number of people coming and going: for there are writers at every point who make up the register. This is done also to discover whether any of them that pass be not accused of larceny or murder, or escaped from prison, or guilty of other misdeed. No difficulty is made of the entrance of all comers—that is, of all natives of the mainland; but if any be foreigners, they are arrested. The Portuguese are on no pretext allowed to go on to the mainland, unless they have families at Goa, for fear lest they should join themselves to the Indian kings. It is a wondrous thing to see the great crowd of people coming or going in procession along the highways. None but Christians carry arms there. All the forts are well equipped with cannon. By night no boats are left on the other side of the water: all are brought close up under the forts. None of the infidels, whether natives or strangers, carry any arms, except they be of the following of the ambassadors. All the passages bring in large revenues, both from the merchandise and from the large numbers of people passing them. The boatmen pay tribute to the Portuguese, and each of the passages has its office. So at the other islands too, inhabited by Christians and infidels, there are passages. In all these said forts and passages there are many dwelling-houses, parish and other churches, monasteries, hermitages, and chapels here and there.

In all this island of Goa, as well as in the surrounding country, and I may say throughout the rest of India, it rains continually for a space of six months, which is their winter,¹ and at Goa more heavily than elsewhere. So during all this two reis, or, as Linschoten says, a Hollander's doit (see Yule, *Gloss.*, s. v. "Budgrook"; and Da Cunha, *Indo-Port. Num.*).

¹ Here, as elsewhere in the book, and by all the old writers of all nations, used for the rainy season, *i. e.*, in Western India ("India" in Portuguese usage), the period of the S.W. monsoon, May—September (see Yule, *Gloss.*, s. v. "Winter").

period there is much mud and dirt, which soils the clothing, and especially that of the Moors and Gentiles, which is of white cotton, and trails at their heels. They are obliged to have the Fête-Dieu in February or March, because in the season we celebrate it there is too much rain.¹ In the island over against the city there is a very fine pond called *La Goada*,² of more than a league in circuit, and natural. On its banks are three fine mansions of great lords, who have built them there for their pleasure, with spacious orchards and gardens, fruit trees, and cocos. The soil is good for fruits, but only in the marshy places.

As for the people who inhabit this island of Goa, they are of two sorts, natives and strangers. The natives are the *Bramenis*, *Canarins*,³ and *Coulombins*,⁴ all Gentiles; the *Bramenis* are everywhere and always masters and superiors among the idolaters. The *Canarins* are of two sorts, for such as are engaged in trade and other honourable callings are held in much greater respect than those who engage in fishing, or practise mechanical crafts, as for instance oarsmen, gatherers of coco produce, called *Sura*,⁵ and followers of other mean occupations. Yet there are other inferior castes beneath all these, who occupy themselves with viler work, and live in

¹ Corpus Christi is celebrated by the Catholic Church on the eleventh day after Whit-Sunday, that is, always towards the end of May, or in June. Della Valle notes the change made in India, and says that it was kept there on the Thursday next after Dominica in Albis (first Sunday after Easter).

² A mistake for *Lagoa*, "lagoon", the name by which, as appears from Linschoten's map, this pond went. He evidently confuses it with *aguada*, "well, watering-place".

³ Rivara says that nowadays the term *Canarin* at Goa has a somewhat offensive sense, and is applied exclusively to native Christians.

⁴ The lowest caste of the Goanese, Konk. *Kunambī*, Mahr. *Kunbī* = agriculturist: see note to Linschoten (i, 260), who writes *Corumbijn*.

⁵ Malayālam *sura*, "toddy", from Skt. *surā*, "spirituous liquor" (see Linschoten, ii, 48, note, and Yule, *Gloss.*, s. v.). Pyrard, like Linschoten, seems to apply it to the unfermented sap.

great poverty and squalor, and like savages : these they call Coulombins. Among the strangers are the resident proprietors of the island, who are the Portuguese. They are the lords of it, but allow the former inhabitants to remain there in all security and enjoyment of their goods. By the ordinance of the King of Spain, they may not make slaves of them as of the rest, this privilege having been obtained of the king. As for the other inhabitants, they are all Indian strangers residing there by permission of the Portuguese, to whom such of them as are not Christians pay a poll tax. Of old Christians, besides Portuguese, there are a very few Castilians, but a number of Venetians and other Italians, who are the best received : there are also some Germans and Flemings, a good number of Armenians, and some English ; but of Frenchmen not one, save the Jesuit Father already mentioned, and a Lorrainer from Nancy, called Jean de Seine, and another Walloon, whom I saw there, named Father Nicolas Trigaut,¹ a native of Douay, who afterwards, while I was still there, was sent to Cochin, and subsequently to Malaca, and thence to China, where he remained some years, visiting six of the provinces of that great kingdom, as well as all the houses and residences of the Society. He was afterwards sent to Europe on business of his Order, on which occasion he re-traversed the whole of the East Indies, and,

¹ Born at Douay, 1577. At age of 17 entered the Society of Jesus, and studied at Ghent. In 1606 proceeded to Lisbon and embarked for India, arriving at Goa 10th Oct. 1607. Here he was detained by bad health till 1610, when he embarked for Macao. The reason for his return to Europe was to obtain more missionaries to work the vast field which he saw lay open in China : and with this aim he published at Rome the work referred to below. It met with speedy success, and he was enabled to return to the East in 1618 with no less than forty-four coadjutors, many of whom, however, died on the way. He himself fell ill at Goa, and was long in danger. In 1620 he again proceeded to China, where he administered the whole work of the Society, employing his leisure in studying the history of China. He died at Nankin, 14th Nov. 1628.

coming by way of Persia, Arabia Deserta, Egypt, Cyprus, Candia, Zanthé, at length landed at Otranto, thence to Rome, Spain, France, and the Low Countries. Thence finally he has in this year, 1618, departed to return to the same Indies with a goodly number of companions, all adepts in some profession, and with a large supply of divers kinds of pretty conceits and varieties of these parts to take to those,—as, for instance, some excellent pictures, maps of the world, geographical charts, globes, astrolabes, clocks, and other instruments, mathematical and musical, which are greatly esteemed in those countries. This Father Trigaut, being at Rome, had printed there a very ample and exact history of China, drawn as well from the memoirs of Father Matthieu Ricci,¹ who had lived there full thirty years, as from the information he had himself acquired on the spot: this history, composed by him in Latin, has since been translated into several languages.² I neither could, nor should have passed over in silence what I have just paused to say of this good Father, both because of my having seen and known him at Goa, and because of his personal worth and merit as shown by the goodness of his life, his knowledge and experience, his extensive travels and intimate acquaintance with all the countries of the Indies, and, not least, his understanding of

¹ The celebrated Jesuit missionary, born 1552, founded the Jesuit College at Nankin, and was in great favour with the Chinese Court, chiefly by reason of his scientific knowledge, which, by his ample acquaintance with the Chinese language, he was enabled to impart to the natives. He died at Pekin, 1610.

² Its title is *De Christianâ expeditione apud Sinas susceptâ ab Soc. Jes. Ex P. Matthæi Riccii ejusdem Societatis Commentariis*, libri v, se auctore P. Nicolao Trigautio Belg. ex eâdem Societate, 4to., Romæ, 1615. Trigaut's first published work seems to be a letter addressed from Goa (Christmas Eve, 1607) to the Jesuits of Flanders, and published under the title *Lettre écrite*, etc., Bordeaux, 1608, 8vo. A second edition of the Ricci Commentaries was published at Augsburg in 1615. His other works are *De Christianis apud Japonicos triumphis* (1623), and *Regni Sinensis descriptio*, and a Chinese Dictionary (1639).

many different languages, both of this part of the world and of that.

But to return to my relation of Goa: the Indian people that are not Christians are very numerous; they are the *Banianes* of Cambaye and Surate, and the *Bramenis*. I have heard it often said among the Bramenis of Calecut that the island of Goa belonged to them, and that on that account they were bitter enemies of the Portuguese. So it is that such of them as are men of honour and spirit will never reside in any place under the rule of the Portuguese, who are too overbearing and proud towards them; for which reason the most part of them have gone to reside at Calecut, where they enjoy complete security and liberty. The Moors and Mahometans come from all the coasts of India, as from Guzerate, Persia, and elsewhere. There are there also a goodly number of Chinese and Japanese. Among the Portuguese there are great differences in regard to their estimation: for the most esteemed are those who have come from Portugal, and are called "Portuguese of Portugal"; next are those born in India of Portuguese father and mother, and called *Castiri*,¹ that is, of their caste and blood; the least esteemed are the offspring of a Portuguese and an Indian parent, called *Metices*, that is, Metifs, or mixed. Those born of a Portuguese father and a Caffre, or African negro mother, are called *Mulastres*,² and are held in like consideration with

¹ Misprint for *castici*, which should be *castiços*, "of good birth". Mr. Teixeira Pinto, judge of Goa, in his *Memorias sobre as Poss. Port.* (Goa, 1859, 16mo.), points the distinctions of these terms thus:—"The Portuguese, whether of Europe or Brazil, are at Goa called indifferently *Franques* or *Fringuins* or *Reiñoes*; those born in India of pure Portuguese blood, *Castiços*, corresponding to the *Creoles* of America; half-castes are *Mestiços*; children of native Christians are *Canarins*; those of 'Gentile' or heathen parentage are *Conkanos*." (*Mem.*, p. 168.) The term *castiços* was adopted in Anglo-Indian use as *castees* (see Yule, *Gloss.*, s. v.), but without any acknowledgment of purity of blood.

² Mulattos.

the Metifs. These Metices plume themselves much when their father or mother is of Brameny race. In Bresil the offspring of the two races are called *Mameluques*.¹

As for the slaves of Goa, their number is infinite ; they are of all the Indian nations, and a very great traffic is done in them. They are exported to Portugal, and to all places under the Portuguese dominion. The Portuguese carry off the children, seducing them by fair speeches, and leading them away and hiding them, both little and big, and as many as they can, yea, even though they be the children of friendly races, and though there be a treaty of peace whereby they are prohibited from taking them for slaves ; for all that, they cease not to kidnap them secretly and to sell them.

CHAPTER III.

Of the City of Goa, its squares, streets, churches, palaces, and other buildings.

Having spoken of the island of Goa, I now come to the city, of which I shall in the first place say that it is not over-strong ; and whosoever should make himself master of the island would be master of the town also, which has no staunch fortress, but is strong in men alone : for though it is enclosed with walls, yet are these walls low, like those wherewith we enclose our gardens here. It is strong on the riverside only. The old walls of the town were higher and

¹ Ar. *Mamlúk*, "one bought", *i. e.*, a slave. The name has travelled west from Egypt, as Capt. Burton shows (Hans Stade, *Hak. Soc.*, p. 45, *note*). Sultan Saladin chose for his *mamelukes* those of a mixed Turk and Circassian breed. The term thus became the equivalent of the Port. *mestiço*. The Mamelukes of S. Paulo acquired a terrible name in the eighteenth century ; but in that district of Brazil the term has given way to *Caboclo*. Mr. Bates, however, states that it is still used in the Amazons (*Nat. on the Amazons*, vol. i, ch. i).

stronger, and had good gates, which no longer exist ; for the town having increased more than two-thirds in size, all those ancient buildings are now useless. The Portuguese take no thought to protect it on the land side of the island, because of the good passages, to which they trust entirely.

The north side of the city is built on the river, and is half a league in length, having many gates, each guarded by a warder. These are crippled fellows, who get the place by way of compensation, and for life. Between the town and the river are three large esplanades along the water-side, separated and enclosed with good walls, which are connected with those of the town, and run out into the river, in such wise that none may enter or depart but by the gates (whereat these gatekeepers search everyone), or else by water in boats. The first of these esplanades one meets in arriving at the town from the west is the largest and finest, and is called *La Riviera grande*¹ (for they call these esplanades *Rivières*). It has two gates entering to the town. It is very well laid out, having some terraces and ramparts, with cannon to defend the river. The commander there is the *Viador de Fasienda*, who has a good and strong residence within it, having a gate on the town side, and another on the riverside ; and he alone has the privilege of closing these gates every night for fear, not of enemies, but of the robbers of the town.

This Viador is overseer of all finances, and also of everything that goes on in Goa, as well affairs of war and shipping as all other affairs, he being the second personage next after the viceroy in all that pertains to the affairs of the king. Over against his lodging in the said esplanade is a fine church

¹ Port. *Ribeira grande*, in early days called simply *Ribeira*, or *R. das naus*, or *R. das armadas*. This was the great arsenal of Goa, and included the docks and the mint. It was a royal precinct under the Vedor da Fazenda, and exempt from the jurisdiction of the municipality.

called *Cinq Achagua*,¹ that is to say, "the Five Wounds", richly adorned and garnished, at which there are two priests only. In the porch of this church is a space well enclosed with barricades, where every day this Viador and the other officers of the king assemble, seated round a table to transact all business that presents itself; for all the other officers, and chiefly those who have to do with embarkations, reside there too. All these lodgings and the esplanades in that part belong to the king, so that these officers are lodged there all their time at his expense.

It is on this *rivière*, or esplanade, that they mint the money, cast the cannon, and do other ironwork necessary for the ships of war or trading vessels. It is a marvel to see the number of artizans working there in all materials, without observing either festivals or Sundays, saying they are about the service of their king. Each of these craftsmen has a grand master, called *Mayor*, who is a Portuguese, having command over those only of his own art; as, for instance, carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, master mariners, caulkers, gunners, founders, etc., who are all or mostly Indians. They are all paid on Sunday mornings, and work not on that day after noon. It is the finest sight in the world to see the vast number of ships that are there, as well in the harbour as on the beach. There, too, are lodged the elephants, when there are any in Goa; but while I was there, there were none. But be it noted that all the officers, *mayors*, have their own offices and places for keeping and locking up all the material and utensils proper to their craft; the workmen, too, have their own places. All these offices are vaulted with stone, and strongly built, for fear of fire. The Viador, from his gallery, sees from one end to the other all that goes on, as well on the esplanade as on the water; and every night there are

¹ Port. *Cinco Chagas*. An extra-parochial chapel for the arsenal (*C. de Kloguen*).

Dead-payes¹ on guard, and the sentinels cry aloud and respond to one another. All this is out of fear lest their ships should be set on fire, of which there is a vast number, both Portuguese and Indian. These men are hired, whether Indians or Christians, and are called *Naicles*.² There are a great number of them, and are relieved at daybreak. Their duty is to carry out the orders of the Viador, to go messages for him, and do other service like petty sergeants or beadles. All the artizans are called over twice a day. There is the *Contador*,³ who pays them, and the *Puntador*,⁴ who pricks them off and measures their work in such wise that if their work be short they have to suffer a like abatement of their time. But this leads to much abuse, for if the Contador and Puntador are so minded, they count as they please. The money is distributed and paid there in public, except large sums, which are paid separately. In this same place is the prison of the Salle, wherein I was placed; thither the Viador sends all sorts of men that are under his charge and belong to him. This Viador has two *Merignes*, or sergeants, and one writer. All these officers well understand how to steal and to fleece the public. There is a little galiot, called *Manchoué*,⁵ well

¹ In orig. mortepayes. "Dead-payes: soldiers in ordinary pay, for the guard of a fortress, or frontier town, during their lives. In France they be exempted from the Taille" (*Cotgrave*).

² Hind. *nayak*, a leader or chief, but in Portuguese and British India applied to native officers of the rank of corporal (see Yule, *Gloss.*, s. v. "Naik").

³ Accountant, "the officer who presides in the tribunal of the *Casa dos Contos*" (*Bluteau*).

⁴ A mistake for *Apontador*, an overseer; from the pricking off, the author would seem to connect it with *punctuar*.

⁵ Port. *manchua*, from Malayāl. *manjū*. Col. Yule describes it only as a large cargo boat, but at Goa it meant a large gondola (*Mandelslo*, p. 98, indeed, mentions it as a gondola), rowed, however, and not pushed. P. della Valle calls it *manciva* "going with 20 to 24 oars, only differing from the *Almedies*, in that the *Mancive* have a large covered room in the poop" (Letter VIII). It was probably the same which Fryer (p. 70) calls a "baloon".

covered in, which the king provides him with for going to and from the ships, and hither and thither by water: it takes only eight or nine hands to man it. The viceroy has one also, so have the great officers, and even the archbishop, and many other private persons. It is very comfortable, being built in the form of a carriage, saving that it has no opening at the sides.

But to return to the Viador. There is no one at Goa, after the viceroy, who can look after himself and play the thief as he can; for whatever is over of all shipments, from Portugal and all other parts, whether provisions, utensils, or other goods,—all that goes to him, and he does what he likes with it. And when the ship starts again he has to furnish her with all her provisions, equipments, and utensils, on which he makes a further robbery; for against every sol of cost he charges two, and the viceroy and he understand each other full well.¹ The viceroy makes the order for all payments and gifts in writing, and the Viador pays nothing unless he sees a certain mark on his signature, or unless he is told by word of mouth, and the treasurer does the same. For the payment of cash the intervention of others is required, but the expenses and outgoings for ships, and the balances remaining in respect thereof, all these are in the hands of the Viador de Fasienda alone.

At the two gates of this esplanade, or *rivière*, are porters and guards stationed, who let none go out or come in without searching them, for fear lest they should have stolen something. In that place no shipments are made, except on behalf of the king or of the said officers. The place is of great length and breadth, but four times as long as it is broad.

¹ Fully borne out by De Couto in his *Soldado Pratico*; indeed, the historian goes further: for example, he states that when the *vedor* bought Ormuz horses for the king's service, and paid 200 cruzados apiece for them, he would charge 600 cruzados in his accounts; and in many cases he shows that out of two sous charged, the king frequently got no value at all.

In breadth it is two hundred paces, and it is all full of valuable property belonging to the king.

Turning to the east from this place you come out near the Royal Hospital inside the town, and you enter another large square, also enclosed, which is between the said hospital and the *Rivière*. It is only a landing-place for fishermen, and a place for all other classes of people to take boat or land. This place is called *Caye de Sancta Catherina*, or *Bazar de Pesche*,¹ meaning "fishmarket", the fish being landed and sold there.

This quay is very convenient when the fleet arrives from Portugal, for as soon as the sick are landed they are close to the gate of the hospital, whose walls enclose the town on that side. All the merchandise is landed at pleasure, for that of the fleet mentioned pays no dues at Goa. This place is, as it were, the middle of the whole town; it has terraces, and gates which are shut only when required. All the bank of the river, along the whole length of the town, is sline and mud. But when the vessels of Portugal arrive it is a marvel to see the crowd of people on the quay of all sorts, slaves and other Christians, Canarins, Cafres, and other Gentiles, who are like porters or carriers, there called *Boye*,² that is,

¹ *Caes de Santa Catherina*, or *Bazar do peixe*.

² Tel. and Malayālam *bōyi*; Konk. *bhūi*, the caste from which carriers were taken, and used in Portuguese India for carriers and porters; e.g. (in 1554), "hum bōy do sombreiro", an umbrella boy; "bóys d'agua", water-carriers (S. Botelho, *Tombo*, 57); (in 1591) "the *bois* or mouços who carry such palanquins", etc. (*Arch. Port. Or.*, Fasc. 3, 324). The above is from Yule's *Gloss.*, s. v. "boy". Pyrard's fanciful interpretation "ox", Port. *boi*, may be due either to himself or to some Portuguese friend who would have his joke. It is repeated by Boullaye le Gouz (p. 211), who finds a parallel indignity in the use of the term *mulets* by the French gentry towards their chair-men. As is well known, the term "boy" is in common use in West and South India, and in Ceylon and China, for the native personal servant of a European. Col. Yule, rightly, I think, recognises in this more modern use the English "boy" employed as the Latin "puer". It is noteworthy that the Portuguese (see

"ox", and carry whatever heavy fardels there may be ; for they use no carts, but carry everything on their shoulders with *bambous*, which are reeds as thick as the leg. This wood is the hardest to break or snap I have ever seen. To carry a cask of Portugal wine, containing three hogsheads or thereabouts, takes four, six, or eight of these fellows, according to the weight, with two of these *bambous*, each carrying an end on his shoulder, and so with other goods. But in building they use carts, though without iron tires, for fear of wearing the pavements ; they are drawn by buffaloes and oxen, and serve to carry stone and timber. These *Boye* when laden continually chant their songs, which consist of some cock-and-bull stories strung together in question and answer, and they keep incessantly running. All the streets are full of these fellows at all sorts of jobs, either carrying *Sombreros* or *Parasoles* and *Palanquins*, or aught else that may be required, and they are always to be found at certain cross-roads. This esplanade is thus quite a public place.

But the other *rivière* or esplanade, which is next to it, is well enclosed all round, even far out into the water : it is called *la Ribere dos Gallees*,¹ for in this place lie the galleys of Goa, which are of the same build as those of Spain and Italy ; but there are only some three or four of them at most. This esplanade is well built and provided with every requirement, as well for the masters of the workshops, the equipment of the galleys, as for the convicts, who are all there, save a certain number that are in the prison of the Salle for the purpose of work there. These galleys never go to sea except in case of great necessity.

Among these galley convicts I saw one that was a Malabar,

above) used their own equivalent for "puer", viz., *mouço*, as the equivalent for the Indian *bóy* ; and further, it is curious that the Anglo-Indian "boy" is in vogue chiefly in those parts of the coast which were formerly Portuguese.

¹ *Ribeira das galés*.

and brother of the great Malabar lord and captain named Cousty Hamede,¹ of the town and fort of Badara, whereof I have already spoken. This convict had turned Christian; he was about thirty years of age, and was called Don Pedro Rodrigo, and was a good-looking fellow. I believe that if he had been at liberty he would not long have remained a Christian. He did not work like the rest, but had command of a squad of convicts, being, however, in chains, as were the rest, even when they went to work in the town, which was often enough. I accosted him several times, and spoke to him for the sake of his brother, who took a liking to me, and gave me a good reception when I passed by Badara and *Marquaire Costé*.

But in regard to these convicts and captives, I will say in passing that the King of Spain never allows an exchange of prisoners, and this is a maxim of policy in those parts: for if that were allowed they would not be greatly concerned about letting themselves be taken. The Portuguese, however, believe their Government to be less damaged and weakened by one man losing his hand or his life, than if they had to pay 10,000 crowns of ransom, and it is well known that their fellow-countrymen will not fail to ransom such as are taken prisoners. There is, too, another reason, which is this, that this procedure gives more courage to the Spaniards and Portuguese, who on other accounts are under a greater obligation to fight well and to avoid being taken, for it is not the King of Spain who ransoms the prisoners, but themselves or their relatives; and if they have not the wherewithal, it is provided by the *Misericorde*, or by people of means and wealth. As for the Indian prisoners taken by the Portuguese, they all belong to the king, who gives a reward to the soldiers that took them, that, is ten *Pardos* for each prisoner; and though the prisoner were to offer all the gold in the world as ransom, he cannot recover his liberty,

¹ See vol. i, pp. 339, 349, 357.



PRINCIPAL GATE OF THE CITY OF GOA,
COMMONLY CALLED THE ARCH OF THE VICEROYS.

but remains ever a galley-slave ; so that when the Portuguese happen to be themselves taken, every endeavour is made to get them back by money, and not in exchange.

But to return to these river passages whereof we have spoken ; the gates are guarded by keepers, and no person may enter except on business. The place is very handsome and spacious, and the viceroy descends by a little gate from his palace, and takes boat without being seen. All the merchandise forming the cargoes of the carracks and large vessels going to Portugal must be shipped there, and the Viador de Fasienda has a little house on the water-side, and goes to and from the vessels to inspect them and to keep accounts, and to register everything that is shipped. Three per centum is paid on exports from Goa ; but if an agreement be come to with him, you pay very little. All the quays are very well walled, and most of them have stone steps. Entering the town on the right from this place are the magazines and arsenals of war material and guns, with large, well-built, and strong warehouses. The town gate on this side is the most handsome and magnificent ; it adjoins the viceroy's palace. This gateway underneath is all painted with the wars of the Portuguese in India, while above the entrance is a fine image, a bust of Sancta Catherina, all gilded. This saint is the patroness of Goa, for it was upon her feast-day¹ that the Portuguese made themselves masters of the island.

Besides these places there are others on the river that are neither enclosed nor guarded like the preceding. There is one such between the river and the palace of the viceroy, *La Fortaleza del vice Rey*.² It is some seven hundred paces in length, two hundred in breadth, very straight and com-

¹ Nov. 25.

² The viceroy's palace stood on the site, and seems to have retained much of the masonry, or at least design, of the palace of the Sabaio (*Dalb. Comm.*, iii, 17 ; Fonseca's *Goa*, 194).

pact, and built up on the river-side with a fine wall with steps of stone. On one side it is enclosed by the walls of the viceroy's palace and of the town, and on the other by those of the other esplanades. This esplanade or quay, called *terrero grande*, is generally employed for mooring all the vessels of the Indian merchants that come to land there, both on account of the *Fortaleza* of the viceroy, which covers it, and because the viceroy from a window or gallery can see all that goes on. This place is always crowded with ships and vast numbers of people.¹ It contains a very handsome building, resembling the Place Royale at Paris in style, but not otherwise: it is called *l'Alfandequa*,² and there they store and sell in gross all kinds of grain, which may not be sold or taken elsewhere. The customs dues are paid there. There is another large building, called *Banquesalle*,³ where are stored goods that are not for food; the dues are paid for them there, and thence they are conveyed to the houses. There is still another house there, where the weights are kept, called by them *el pezo*.⁴ Next are the houses of the officers and renters. As soon as the ships are discharged they pass further up the river, and remove from in front of the fortress of the viceroy, giving place to fresh arrivals.

At the end of this quay there is a very large circular esplanade, where is held one of the markets, and the greatest in all Goa, so far as regards provisions. They call it *Bazar Grande*, that is to say, grand market. Every day market is held there, for they never keep provisions from one day to another; they even go twice a day, for dinner and supper. Even on Sundays and holidays provisions are sold there.

¹ "On landing we find ourselves within the quay of the viceroy's fortress. A luxuriant but lonely grove of palm-trees stands now on the site of this once busy pier" (*Fonseca*, 191).

² *Alfandega*; see i, 361, where he likens the custom-house at Calicut also to the Place Royale.

³ See i, 85.

⁴ Port. *Peso*.

There are several other squares and markets or bazaars, but none such as this. Over against it is a very fine square, containing the church of the Jacobins or Dominicans,¹ exceedingly well built and decorated, with some pretty water. There are many other parish and other churches, most of them dedicated to Our Lady.

As for the fortress, or palace of the viceroy, it is a most sumptuous construction; and all in front is a very large square on the town side, called *Campo del passo*,² where the nobles and courtiers assemble on horseback, on foot, and in their palanquins. For the viceroy never goes abroad without the previous day causing drums to be beat through the town, that so the *noblesse* may be advertised to assemble on horseback at early morn; and they remain there till he comes forth, all in their best array and order. Opposite the viceroy's gate is a large building, wherein the parliament is held, called *Cambra Presidial*.³ The first president is called *Desembargador Mayor*.⁴ It is the principal court of justice in India for the Portuguese; there is another subject to it. This palace of the viceroy is not strong in cannon on the town side; but it is a good and commodious residence. On entering you find on your right the prison, called *Tronco*, which is a wing of the palace; on the left are the magazines and the

¹ The Dominicans first arrived at Goa in 1548. This church was begun in 1550, and finished in 1564, and was thereafter the headquarters of the order, though they afterwards built two colleges in other parts of the city and suburbs (*Fonseca*, 250). Fryer says it was a huge fabric, with a magnificent front ascended by many steps, and surpassing the cathedral. The pillars were gilded, and the sacristy contained many vessels of great value (p. 149). It was seen and admired by Careri in 1695 (Churchill, *Voy.*, iv, 205), and by De Kloguen in this century (p. 118), and later by Dr. John Wilson (*Or. Chr. Spect.*, v, Ser. 1, p. 123). This magnificent building was demolished in 1841, its treasures dispersed, and its stone used chiefly for barracks (*Fonseca*, 254).

² *Campo* or *terreiro do Paço*, the "Court-square".

³ *Camara presidial*; the High Court was, however, generally called the *Relação*.

⁴ *Desambargador Mór*, "chief justice".

royal arsenal. The palace is supplied with all necessities, such as a church, a clock, and water. Even the royal treasury is partly there; the other part is in the Franciscan convent. There are two large and handsome courts, with an entrance from one to the other. In the first court, on the left-hand, is a grand staircase, very broad, and built of stone, which leads to a great hall, containing paintings of all the fleets and vessels which have gone to the Indies, with their numbers, dates, and names of the captains. Even the ships of war that have been wrecked are portrayed there. It is a fearful sight to see so many lost ships. In short, there is not a small vessel that has gone from Portugal but is there portrayed, with her name inscribed, along with her history and achievements.¹ Further on is another and larger hall, which is that of the viceroy himself, and of the *noblesse*, where the council is held. In it are life-size paintings of all the viceroys who have been in the Indies.² All comers are not permitted to enter; and guards are placed there. The palace is on high ground, and is very strong on the river-side, supported by very lofty walls; it has the finest prospect in the whole town. The stables are not within, but adjoining on

¹ Fonseca (p. 195, citing *Boletim e Ann. do Cons. Ultramarino*, No. 155, p. 41) remarks that down to 1612 the number of ships which had left Portugal for India was 806. Linschoten (i, 219) adds that the names of all the captains were given.

² This interesting gallery of portraits, previously mentioned by Linschoten (*ubi supra*), and afterwards by Mandelslo, who seems to have taken them to be of European princes, is happily preserved in the Governor's palace at Pangim (*Burton*, 42; *Fonseca*, 100), though it seems the "restorer" has been let loose among the pictures. There can be little doubt that the beautifully coloured portraits of the viceroys in the Resende MS. at the British Museum (Sloane MS. 197), were copied on the spot from these pictures, though Mr. Birch (*Dalb. Comm.*, i, Intro., p. ix) finds in the MS. no acknowledgment of their source. I have compared the photograph of the Governor Nuno da Cunha, in J. G. da Cunha's *Chaul and Bassein*, which is "copied from an ancient oil painting in Goa", with the portrait of the same governor in the MS., and find them to be obviously from the same original.

the right-hand of the entrance. There is an exit on the river-side, but that door is not open except when the viceroy is pleased to go to the water. His guard is a company of a hundred men, all habited in blue, which is their ordinary livery. They are always close to his person, and are in waiting at the door of the palace or of any house wherein he may be; and when he walks abroad the drums and fifes are played. These archers carry halberts, and are all Portuguese, but they are not held in the same honour and repute as those who go with the armies, the latter being volunteers. In addition to these there are porters at the gates of the fortress.

Proceeding from this palace to the town, you enter the most handsome street of Goa, called *la Rua drecho*,¹ or "straight". It is more than 1,500 paces in length, and on both sides has many rich lapidaries, goldsmiths, and bankers, and also the richest and best merchants and artisans in Goa, all Portuguese, Italians, or Germans, as well as other Europeans. This street ends with a church, the most beautiful, rich, and highly decorated in Goa. It is all gilded within. This is the church *de la Sancta Misericordia*, dedicated to *Nuestra Senora Dasera*.² Over the portal, in the most conspicuous place, is a bust in stone, gilded, of *Don Alfonse Albuquerque*, who took the island of Goa.³ Near this church is a monastery for orphan girls of good family to

¹ *Rua Direita*, so called because nearly all the others were curvilinear. It was in this street that Fitch and Newberry took a shop in 1583 (*Hak. Voy.*, i, 211).

² This is a mistake. The church of *N. S. da Serra* adjoined the *Misericordia*, but the latter had its own chapel. The former church was built by Albuquerque in 1514, in fulfilment of a vow made in the Red Sea, when his ship the *N. S. da Serra* was in danger. It is still standing, but roofless, and used as a cemetery (*Fonseca*, 245). The *Santa Casa*, with its chapel, was built in 1520, the chapel being, after the time of Pyrard, rebuilt as a large church, "the ruins of which still excite admiration" (*Fonseca*, *ib.*).

³ The statue was removed to the Artillery Barracks at Pangim some years ago, and was being re-erected, "with a new nose and other requisites", at the time of Burton's visit (*Goa*, p. 41).

reside at until they get married. The married Portuguese also, when they go a voyage, put their wives in there, against their return. Widows also, who wish to retire from the world, are placed there, and even repentant girls are allowed to enter; no visitors are permitted.¹ This grand *ruo drecho* is otherwise called *Laylon*,² because of the auctions and sales of clothes, and all other kinds of merchandise, even slaves and horses, that are conducted there; in such wise that on every day except Sundays and holidays, from six in the morning until noon, it is as full of people as it will hold.

Half-way down this street is one of the oldest and largest buildings of the town, called *Casa da Santa Inquisitione*,³ where all the officers of the said Inquisition are lodged. The same order is observed as in Portugal, albeit the justice administered there is more severe in the case of the richer classes. In front of this house is a large square or market, and on the other is the town-hall, a moderately good

¹ Rivara points out that the author confuses two institutions,—(1) the Retreat of S. Mary Magdalen for repentant women, and (2) the Retreat of the Serra for orphan girls. Both were established by Archbishop Menezes in 1606, and perhaps at this time the two classes were to some extent mixed. On the 12th March 1611, the king writes that, according to his information, the first-named Retreat was becoming a resort for the soldiers, and orders its suppression. On the 12th March 1612, he again calls for a report (*Liv. das Monç.*, ii, 94, 210).

² Port. *leilão*, from the Ar. *i'lām*, "proclamation". The Port. word has been adopted in Hindustani as *nilām*, and in Chinese as *yélang*, and at Amoy as *lélang* (Yule, *Gloss.*, s. v. "Neelām"). As to the street and auction, cf. *Linschoten*, i, 184-5, and see his picture of the scene in the English edition of 1598.

³ The Holy Office was established in Goa in 1560, and installed in this palace, which had been the viceroy's down to 1554. It was a stately edifice of three stories. The evil celebrity of the Inquisition of Goa has made this building a chief object of attraction to all travellers (for references, see *Fonseca*, 210). The tribunal of the Inquisition was abolished in 1774, and the Marquis de Pombal directed that the building should be used again as the viceroy's palace; but this was not carried out, and the edifice was finally razed to the ground, 1828-30. As to the tribunal, see further below (ch. vi).

building, called by them *Cambre de Cidade*. The Palace of the Inquisition is a very magnificent building, with a very fine large hall, and grand and lofty staircases, all built of the finest stone: no king's palace has so fine a hall.

Close by is the great church called *Assee*,¹ as we should say here "cathedral": it is dedicated, with its churchyard, to Our Lady. It is a grand and superb design, but it is a difficult task to finish, it being now fifty years since it was begun. Adjoining thereto is the *Casa do Arcebispo*, or house of the archbishop.² That of the bishop is hard by, where is also the prison of the church. Right opposite the churchyard of the great church is the convent of the Franciscans,³ the handsomest and richest in the world: in the cloister there is painted the whole life of St. Francis, in gold, azure, and colours. This church is much frequented; it is erected upon very high ground: the great square in front is all paved with large stones, and there are

¹ Port. *a sé*, or *Sé Primacial*. It was dedicated not to Our Lady, but to S. Catherine. The first church was built by Albuquerque in 1511, and became the cathedral in 1534. In 1562 the viceroys, D. Franc. Coutinho, commenced to rebuild it on a magnificent scale; but as the work was done principally at the expense of the royal treasury, it was not half finished in 1623 (*Della Valle*), nor quite finished till 1631. It is 250 feet in length and 115 feet high. Dr. Fryer says it was hardly surpassed in grandeur by any church in England; and Dr. W. H. Russell speaks of its "vast and noble proportions" (*Prince of Wales's Tour*, p. 232). A view of it is given in Burton's *Goa*. There is a daily service still.

² The archbishop's palace is to the north-west of the cathedral. It does not appear in what year it was built. It was abandoned in the plague year (1695), since which time the prelates have lived at Pangim and elsewhere. This palace, however, still stands complete, 230 feet in length by 108 feet broad, and is now tenanted only by the *curé* (*Fonseca*, 209).

³ The convent was begun in 1517, and the church in 1520. The Franciscans were expelled in 1835, and their property, then exceeding £13,000, confiscated by Government. Both the convent and the church were splendid edifices: the latter is still in fair preservation; the former is a fine ruin (*Fonseca*, 220-225; Xavier, *Res. Hist.*, p. 25).

broad steps for ascending to it. At the end is a great cross of stone, very lofty and highly wrought: thence you go down a street which leads straight to the Royal Hospital. On the left is the Chapel of *Sancta Catherina*: by this entry the town was taken, for there was here a gate and a rampart. This chapel is never open but on the day of the festival. Over the door is engraved in letters of gold the day and year of the capture,¹ and one of the finest ceremonies and solemnities of Goa is the general procession made on that day,² all the clergy and other townspeople assembling in their best array and magnificence, and bearing many effigies and mysteries, accompanied by music, mummeries, and other ridiculous things, as is done here at carousals and interludes; and so they use at all their popular processions.

Ascending thence you come straight upon a space called *Basar piquaine*, that is to say, "little market", in the midst of which is a portion raised six feet or thereabouts, all surrounded by a wall, and called *Terrero dos gallos*; that is, "the place of cocks", because fowls and other live stock are sold there.³ Thence you come, near the middle of the town, to the Church of the Good Jesus, which is the church and house of the professed Jesuits. Next you enter the Hatters'

¹ The inscription was placed over the door in 1550, on the rebuilding of the chapel. It runs thus: "*Aqui neste lugar estava a porta por que entrou o Governador Affonso d'Albuquerque e tomou esta cidade aos Mouros em dia de Santa Catirina anno de 1510 em cujo louvor e memoria o Governador Jorge Cabral mandou fazer esta casa anno de 1550 á custa de S. A.*" The slab, with the inscription, is still to be seen in the wall near, but not over, the door (*Fonseca*, 226; *Rivara's Pyrard*).

² The procession is still kept up, but proceeds from and returns to the cathedral (*Rivara*).

³ A mistake: the *terreiro dos gallos* was the open space where cock-fighting went on. The sport was prohibited by Viceroy M. de Albuquerque in 1594 (*Arch. Port. Or.*, Fasc. 3, No. 157). From *Pyrard's* ignorance of the origin of the name, we may argue that the prohibition was effectual.

street,¹ very handsome, broad, and long, ending in a space called the *Pillorillo vieyo*,² that is to say, "the old pillory"; this also is a market, with a raised place surrounded with a stone wall. Opposite to it, in a large building, is the ordinary court of justice of Goa; and another for the police, with a handsome slaughter-house. Six or seven streets meet at this point, among them the largest of all, called *Rua Grando*, which is one of the finest to be seen anywhere: it brings you straight to the principal church of the Jesuits, which is their college, dedicated to the Conversion of St. Paul.³ Further on, passing under the cloisters and buttresses of the church, you come upon the outskirts of the town: and between the College and Church of St. Paul and the town gate is the Church of St. Thomas,⁴ a large parish church; thence forth of the town you arrive at a large open space called *el campo St. Lazaro*, or *S. Iago*, because it is on the way to the village and fort of St. James. In this same campo is the *Hospital de S. Ladre*,⁵ where the lepers are

¹ *Rua dos chapelleiros.*

² *Pelourinho velho.*

³ The college was originally built by the fraternity of *Santa Fé* in 1541, and taken over by Francis Xavier in 1543 on behalf of the Jesuits. The inaugural ceremony is described by Correa (*Lendas*, iv, 289). It thereafter became the centre of the Society's propagandism in India, the Jesuits being thence known in India as *Paulistas*, or *Paulistins*. The church was built in 1560. "Some years afterwards a crack was noticed in one of its walls, and it was therefore supported from the outside by three arches. These arches were so wide and lofty that a high road passed beneath them, and so handsome that the building was called after them the Church of St. Paul of the Arches" (*Fonseca*, 263). C. de Kloguen (1827) found both college and church in the last stages of ruin, and a few years later both were demolished by Government.

⁴ Built about 1560 to contain a bone of St. Thomas, which was as much of the Apostle's remains as the people of Meliapur would part with. It was in ruins in 1827, when C. de Kloguen was at Goa, and there are hardly any traces of it now (*Fonseca*, 271).

⁵ The hospital of S. Lazaro was founded about 1530 (see royal despatch, *Arch. Port. Or.*, Fasc. i, No. 2), and was placed under the

kept: the building is handsome and well-constructed. The church has a pretty chapel dedicated to St. Louis, King of France. This hospital contained some sick; it was founded and is maintained by the town. On the other side, and right opposite, is a very fine tank or lake with many river-birds. In this *campo* all the cavaliers and gentlemen have their tournaments,¹ with their canes and oranges, on the days of St. John and St. James, the patron saints of the Portuguese and the Spaniards, and of St. Catherine the patroness of Goa: there, too, the inhabitants hold their shows.

On the other side, out of the town, is a place enclosed with walls, called *Mata Vaca*,² where animals are slaughtered. On the same side is the Court of Justice, and there is there a gallows-tree erected on four posts. Executions take place a quarter of a league from the town. They are constrained by reason of the heat to slaughter animals outside the town,

management of the municipality and the Misericordia. It was the scene of Xavier's earliest labours on his arrival at Goa in 1542. De Kloguen found it still in use in 1827, but it was finally closed in 1840; and the buildings are now in utter ruin (*Fonseca*, 268-70).

¹ As to these tournaments, etc., see further, ch. vii. Della Valle, in 1623, was present at the festa of St. John the Baptist. He says that the viceroy and all gentlemen of quality first rode through the city "in habits of masquert, but without vizards", and having heard mass in St. John's, proceeded to the street of St. Paul, called *La Carriera de' Cavalli*, which he describes as the finest open space in Goa. "Here, after many companies of Canarine Christians of the country had marched by with their ensigns, drums, and arms, leaping and playing along the streets, with their naked swords in their hands, for they are all Foot: at length all the Cavaliers run two *carriers* (careers) on horseback, one downwards from the Ch. of St. Paul towards the city, and the other upwards, running matches of two to two, or three to three, according to their attire agreed, with their Morisco cyniters, and at last they came all down marching together in order, and so went to the Piazza of the viceroy's palace, and so the solemnity ended" (P. Della Valle, *Eng. trans.*, 88).

² The place of cow-killing: so Linschoten, ii, 71 (*matavaquas*); though the common Portuguese for a slaughter-house is *matadeiro*, or *matadouro*.

and all the entrails and blood are buried on the spot. It is forbidden to all persons to slaughter elsewhere than there. Near the convent of St. Augustine is a large square or field, used only for exercising horses.

But it were an endless task to tell in detail the names of all the streets, squares, churches, monasteries, palaces, and other sights of Goa. Suffice it to say that it is all well laid out, that the *Bunianes* and *Canarins* have their own streets, as also have all the divers merchants and craftsmen; for example, the goldsmiths have their own street, the lapidaries theirs, and so on¹: in such wise that there is great public convenience, and when one has business to do in anything, one has only to know the street. And what caused me to tarry thus long in my description of this town is this, that whosoever knows it well, knows the whole estate of the Portuguese in the East Indies.

The number of churches there is a marvel: there is no square, street, or cross-roads without one; for example, those of *St. Augustine* and *Nostra Senhora de Gracia*, which are churches of the same Order, and dependent upon each other.² Behind this convent, outside the town, is their Novice-house, a handsome and well-constructed building. One goes from one to the other under cover by a fine lofty

¹ Fonseca (p. 157) gives the names of twenty-three of the principal streets, among them the *Rua de Surradores* (curriers), *R. dos Ferreiros* (blacksmiths), *R. dos Ourives* (goldsmiths), *R. dos Judeus* (Jews), *R. dos Banianes*. Compare Linschoten, i, 228.

² The Augustinian monastery, first built in 1572, was rebuilt in 1597, and dedicated to *N. S. de Graça*. The church was dedicated to St. Augustine. These, with the Novice-house and a College, all standing on a splendid site on the hill of the Rozary, formed perhaps the finest group of buildings in Goa. Mandelslo says that one viewing it from a short distance "would take it for one of the noblest palaces in the world" (*Eng. trans.*, p. 101). It had fine galleries, halls, and cloisters, a vast number of dormitories, and a good library; all travellers have testified to its splendour; e.g., Careri, Dr. Claudius Buchanan, Capt. Franklin, Dr. Wilson, and C. de Kloguen. The monastery was closed in 1835, and all the buildings are in ruin.

gallery on pillars and arches, and of considerable length: building goes on continually at this convent, the archbishop being of this Order. The convent is situate on the highest point of the whole town, on a mountain: over against it are the Churches of *St. Anthoine*¹ and *St. Roch*,² belonging to the Jesuits. In another place is the Monastery of the Nuns of *Saincte Monique*,³ then the Church of *Nuestra Senora del Rozero*,⁴ the Convent of *St. Thomas*,⁵ and others. So that as

¹ The royal chapel of St. Antony, the national saint, on the Rosary hill, did not belong to the Jesuits. It was under the priests of the cathedral till 1606, when Archbishop Menezes handed it over to his own order, the Augustinians (*Fonseca*, 304).

² The chapel of St. Roch was adjacent to the great new Jesuit college of St. Paul. The college, which Dr. Fryer says was the largest religious building in Goa, had recently been constructed, and a year or two after Pyrrard's time the students were transferred to it from the old college of St. Paul (see above). St. Roch remained the popular name for both chapel and college (*Fonseca*, 315).

³ The great convent of Sta. Monica was begun by Archbishop Menezes in 1606, and completed in 1627; it was used, however, as the building went on. There was room for 100 nuns, with much additional accommodation for novices, lay sisters, servants, slaves, etc. In 1630 the viceroy describes it as larger than any convent in Portugal except Odivellas. In 1683 it attained great vogue by reason of an aged Sister, who, on dying, was discovered to be marked with the Stigmata, and narrowly escaped canonisation. During the gradual abandonment of old Goa in the last century, this convent suffered with the rest; in 1804 there were sixty-one, and in 1827 thirty, nuns; and in 1835 novices were refused. When *Fonseca* wrote (1878) there was but one aged nun left, and she is probably gone now. The above is by no means the only miracle manifested at this nunnery: let the unsatisfied reader consult the *Historia da Fundação do R. Convento de Sta. Monica da Cidade de Goa*, by Fr. Agostinho, Lisboa, 1699; and Careri, in *Churchill's Voy. IV*. A good account of the convent appears in the *Chronista de Tissuary*, i, 215, by Rivara.

⁴ *Nossa Senhora do Rozario*, on the Rosary Hill, made a parochial church in 1543. The feast of the Rosary was celebrated here with much pomp and circumstance (see P. della Valle). It is still occasionally used.

⁵ The college of St. Thomas Aquinas at Banguenim, built 1596-7. It belonged to the Dominicans. In 1695, described as "large and beauti-

well in the town as in the suburbs, and throughout the island, there are about fifty churches and monasteries.

Of these churches four belong to the Jesuits. The first and principal is founded in honour of the Conversion of St. Paul. The college is the principal one in all the East Indies, wherein I have seen as many as 2,000 children and more at their studies, as well Portuguese as Indians. The Jesuits take nothing from the scholars for their instruction.

Adjoining this college is another fine house of the same Fathers, called the Seminary, where the children are boarded.

The second church or college held by the Jesuits is in the middle of the town, as handsome or even more so than the first-named: the church is founded in honour of the name of JESUS¹: as I have said, it was richly built and all gilded within; it is not yet complete, but the work is proceeding day by day. I have seen there a cross of solid gold, which the company of Jesuit Fathers have had made for a present to the Pope: it was three feet in length, four fingers in width, and two in thickness, and embellished with all manner of precious stones, richly set: it was priced there at more than 100,000 crowns, and was sent to his Holiness by the vessel on which I embarked on my return.² This second house, which is that of the monks,³ is entirely

ful, inhabited by twenty-five fathers" (*Careri*), visited by De Kloguen in 1827; closed in 1835. The roof fell in in 1844, and no trace of it remains (*Fonseca*, p. 322).

¹ The church of *Bom Jesus* is the most notable in Goa, partly for its architecture and decoration, and chiefly as now containing the tomb of St. Francis Xavier, on which account the whole church is well maintained. It was begun 1594 and consecrated 1605; but, as Pyrard says, was not finished even in his day. The church contains several memorial chapels besides Xavier's, and also some inscriptions, and many pictures of scenes from the life of the Apostle of the Indies.

² Col. Yule kindly made inquiry for me at Rome as to this cross, but no news could be obtained of it.

³ The Professed House of *Bom Jesus* was begun in 1586, and completed about 1589. Mandelslo, who dined there and got the best Canary

dedicated to public service, viz., to confessions and administering of the sacraments, and for receiving into the Church and baptising infidels. It is in that the Father that is over the Christians resides; he is bound to go every day to the prisons to visit the Christians and others who would be converted to Christianity, to solicit their enlargement and to assist them with alms, as he did me many a time.

There is another house of these same Fathers adjoining this second church; it is called *Cathecuminos*, and is for catechising and teaching the new Christians: they are fed and supplied with clothing there, until such time as they are instructed and baptised: over these the Father of the Christians has charge, as over the whole house.

From this place, one day of the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, I saw come forth about 1,500 Indian persons, men, women, and children, habited in Christian fashion, to make their procession through the streets of the town, marching two and two, each having a bough or branch of palm in his hand, to distinguish them from the others, as being still unbaptised. Thence they went to the first church and college of St. Paul of the Jesuits, where they were all baptised.

Before they were baptised one of the Jesuit Fathers, as I saw, gave them an appropriate sermon upon the excellence of the Christian religion, that none should come there by constraint, that if any one of them had any regrets, he was free to withdraw and go forth of the church. Then all answered with one voice that they were well satisfied, and that they were willing to die in the Christian faith. Being baptised, everyone retired to his own house: if any of these were poor, to him the Jesuit Father gave some money by way of alms. This is repeated every year with the like

he ever drank, describes it in glowing terms. Anquetil du Perron calls it "a superb building, which would have been regarded in Europe as one of the most beautiful religious buildings" (*Disc. Prél. au Zend Avesta*, p. ccciv).

pomp and solemnity as above, besides that many are baptised every day in private. I have also seen many a time great numbers baptised in the church of the Franciscans, on the morrow of Christmas, even as many as eight hundred.

The day of the Conversion of St. Paul, in this College of St. Paul, is held a great festival and ceremony. The viceroy, accompanied by all the nobility, to the number of 200 or 300 gentlemen on horseback, well mounted and caparisoned, proceeds to this church, and after the service dines with the Jesuit Fathers: this he never does but on this day only.

All the scholars of the Jesuits, richly dressed in all manner of silk liveries, come before him in line of battle, half mounted and half on foot, but all armed, and are paraded before the viceroy; the rest of the day is spent in different games and rejoicings.

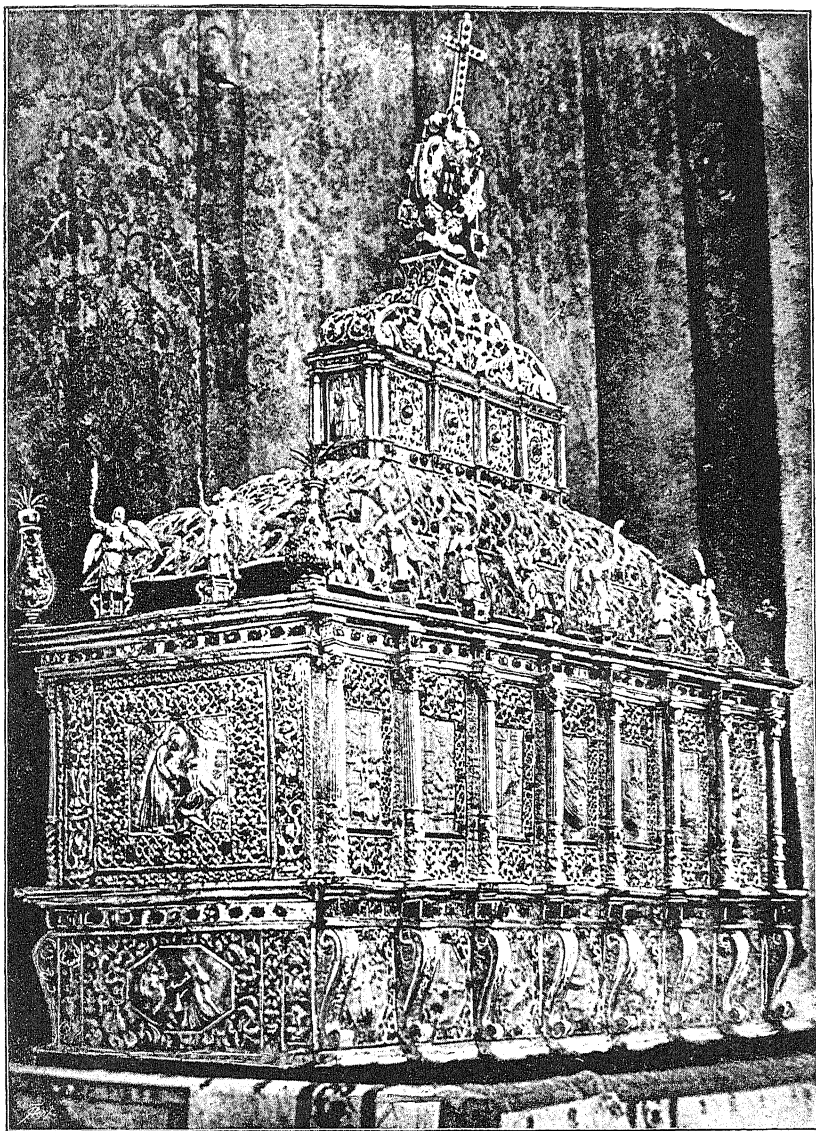
The third house and church is founded in honour of St. Roch, and is called the Novitiate, where are the Portuguese novices who aspire to be Jesuits, to prove themselves whether they can persist in the observance of the rules. None are received as Jesuits, except such as are the offspring of Portuguese fathers and mothers; but the Indians can become priests. The other religious orders receive Metifs, but not pure Indians.

The fourth house of the Jesuits is situate half a league without the town: it is a handsome pleasure-house, with pretty fountains, and serves to cheer them up and to restore to health such as are sick, of their own Order only. These Jesuit Fathers are in great numbers there, and throughout India where the Portuguese are established, and about some of the infidel kings, where they have attained great results in the conversion of Indians to the Christian religion. The monks of the Orders of St. Dominic and St. Francis do the same.

All the churches and monasteries of Goa are superbly built, and most richly equipped and adorned with numerous

reliquaries of chased gold¹ and silver, with pearls and precious stones: as, for example, that containing the body of the ever-blessed Francis Xavier,¹ which is in the Church of St. Paul. This good Father was the first who, in the year 1553, essayed the voyage to China to preach the faith, surmounting all sorts of difficulties and obstacles which beset his path, and happily arrived at his destination ere death cut short the course of his holy and religious enterprise, the fruit whereof God reserved to those who have afterwards so nobly and with so great success laboured there. He died of sickness in an island near to China; his body was

¹ Even a sketch of the life of Xavier cannot be attempted here. The literature is already bulky: reference may be made to Padre Lucena, *Vida de F. X.*, etc.; Bouhours, *Vie de St. F. X.*, Paris, 1682, 4to; Bartoli, *Asia*; F. da Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado*, 1708; *Life of St. Francis Xavier*, by Father Coleridge, London, 1872; *Resumo Historico da Maravilhosa Vida, etc.*, by F. N. Xavier, Goa, 1861, etc. Suffice it here to say that he died at Sancian, off China, in Dec. 1552; his body was brought first to Malacca, and thence to Goa (1554), and deposited in St. Paul's, in a crystal coffin enclosed in another of silver. He was canonised in 1622, and in 1624 the body was removed to Bom Jesus (see Della Valle): that is, what was left of it, for in 1614 the Pope got the right arm, which, on being supplied with pen-and-ink, wrote the name "Xavier" (*Hamilton*, i, p. 257); and in 1554 a pious Portuguese lady, determined to possess a relic, had bitten off one of the toes (*Fonseca*, p. 297). Note as to this, that in 1556 a physician certified the body to be still free from corruption and to yield blood. For many years he was frequently exposed to view, but latterly these occasions have been more rare; once in 1782, and not again till 1859. Of the last exposition a very full account, with all minutest details, is given in F. N. Xavier's work, above mentioned, which also contains (as does Fonseca's *Goa*) a drawing of the saint as he then appeared. About the end of the seventeenth century arrived from Italy the magnificent tomb (the gift of the Grand Duke of Tuscany) in which the saint now reposes. It had not come when Careri saw the church in 1695. From Fonseca's drawing, this tomb must be a very beautiful sample of Florentine workmanship. It stands about twelve feet high, and is constructed of jasper and the finest marbles. A series of bas-reliefs are carved with scenes from the life of the saint. The silver coffin, with its jewels, is said to be a treasure in itself, and it also has the life portrayed in relief in thirty-two panels.



SHRINE CONTAINING THE BODY OF S. FRANCIS XAVIER,
APOSTLE OF THE INDIES,
IN THE CHURCH OF THE BOM JESUS, GOA.

afterwards brought to Goa, and laid in this church in a shrine of silver gilt, whereto great honour is paid, the body being to this day exhibited entire with great ceremony on the day of the Conversion of St. Paul.

The buildings of these churches and palaces, both public and private, are exceeding sumptuous and magnificent: the work is done for the most part by the Canarins, both Gentiles and Christians. The houses are built of lime and sand. The lime is made of the shells of oysters and sea-snails. The sand used is that from land, and not that of the river. The houses are covered with tiles, for window-glass is not employed; but in lieu thereof very thin polished oyster-shells, of a lozenge shape, and set in wooden frames. These give as much light as paper windows or horn lanterns, but are not so transparent as glass. Building stone is got in the island: but that used for columns and other grander work is brought from *Bassain*, and is there obtained in very long blocks of very great strength. It is like grained stone, but of better appearance. I have never seen in this country single columns of stone so thick and long as those there. The extent of their buildings is considerable, but they are of but few stories: they are coloured red and white, both without and within. The staircases are very wide, made partly of stone and partly of red earth, like *bol*, or *terre sigillée*, which serves for plaster. Nearly all have gardens and orchards, though not large, with wells within their enclosures.

As for the suburbs of the town, there are seven or eight of them, and they are very large: and all the buildings of them, as of the rest of the island, are in the same style as those of the town: albeit the shops are not so magnificent and gay. Carts drawn by buffaloes or bulls are used to convey the materials for building. These carts are not made with iron wheels. The pavement of the streets of the town is of fine, broad stone, and clean enough: that is to say, such of it as is on the slope, for the rest is very muddy. When it rains one

sees streams all over the town, and the water runs in large, deep, vaulted, and paved canals: in winter this keeps the town very clean in some parts, but the streams in the streets are so broad, that at times one has some difficulty in crossing from one side of a street to the other, save that in some places there are little bridges and arches, but for which it would be impossible to cross.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the markets, slaves, money, water, and other remarkable things at Goa.

Having spoken in the preceding chapter of the squares of the town, I shall proceed to say something of the markets. These markets, as far as regards provisions, are held every working day, and even on the lesser festivals, from six or seven in the morning until noon; so, too, the great market, which is held all along the great straight street, the one end whereof touches the Misericordia, and the other the palace of the viceroy. This street is very handsome and broad, full of shops of jewellers, goldsmiths, lapidaries, carpet weavers, silk mercers, and other artizans. While this market is afoot, there is so great a crowd in the street that one can hardly pass. They fear neither rain in winter nor heat in summer, by reason of the large *sombreros* or parasols which everyone carries; these are six or seven feet in diameter at the least, in such wise that when a crowd is assembled they all touch one another, and the whole seems but one covering.

About three months before I left Goa it was ordered that the large square between the town-hall and the Inquisition should be taken as an addition to the market, which was too small. This market is called *Laylon*, as I have already said,

because of the auctions that are held there. There are to be found there all sorts of persons, nobles and humble, of all nations and religions, buying and selling, or meeting for the purpose of business, for the place serves as an exchange. The auctions are not conducted by sergeants, but by others who do the business on their own account, paying a rent to the king; for there is no office, position, or craft so petty, but is farmed out on behalf of the king, who gets something from it. Sales of property, as well under orders of court as voluntary, are held there. Many, too, sell goods there as is usual in shops, without crying them at auction. The persons who conduct the auction-sales are called *Pregonneurs*,¹ or criers; they have to give ample security, for frequently large and valuable trinkets are put in their hands.

In this place are to be seen all kinds of merchandise, among others, numbers of slaves, whom they drive there as we do horses here²; and you see the sellers come with great troops following. Then in order to sell them they praise them and put them up, telling all they can do, their craft, strength, and health, while the buyers examine them, question them, and scan them all over with curiosity, both males and females. The slaves themselves, hoping better treatment with a change of masters, show their disposition and praise themselves to take the fancy of the buyers. In buying, however, a certain day is agreed upon beforehand for repudiating or closing the bargain, so that they have time to learn the truth.

You see there very pretty and elegant girls and women from all countries of India, most of whom can play upon

¹ Port. *pregoeiro*, a crier.

² Linschoten says they were sold daily "as beasts are sold with us" (i, 85). Dr. Burnell (p. 270, *note*) shows that the Portuguese did not begin, but merely continued an immemorial trade in African slaves. The British in India followed suit (see quotations in Yule's *Gloss.*, s. v. "Caffir").

instruments, embroider, sew very finely, and do all kinds of work, such as the making of sweetmeats, preserves, etc. All these slaves are very cheap, the dearest not being worth more than 20 or 30 *perdos*, of 32½ *sols* each. Girls that are virgins are sold as such, and are examined by women, so that none dare use any trickery. They deem it no sin to have intercourse with their slaves whom they have bought, so long as they are not married : for a girl's master being the man who marries her, she may not be so used after a man has plighted his troth to her. Some of these girls are very pretty, fair, and comely, others are olive-coloured, brown, and of all colours. But those to whom they are usually most attracted are the Caffre girls of Mozambique and other places in Africa, who are as wondrously black, with curly hair ; they call these *Negra de Guinea*. It is a remarkable fact which I have observed among all the Indian peoples, as well males as females, that their bodies and perspiration have no smell, whereas the negroes of Africa, from both sides of the Cape of Good Hope, stink in such wise that when they are heated it is impossible to approach them : their savour is as bad as that of green leeks.

In the Indies, if a man has a male child by his slave, it is legitimate, and the slave becomes free, although she cannot leave her master without his consent ; after his death, however, she is enfranchised, and she can be no more sold. The largest revenues and wealth of those at Goa are from the labour of their slaves, who, every evening, or at the week's end, bring what they are required to produce ; others, again, are retained at their houses to wait upon them.

In this market are also to be seen a great number of other slaves that are not for sale, but themselves bring the work they have done, such as tapestry, embroideries, and needle-work ; as also preserves, fruits, and other things. Others earn money by fetching and carrying anything required. The girls deck themselves out in fine style for this purpose, so as to be

more attractive, and to sell their goods the better. Sometimes the men call them into their houses to see them, and there talk to them of love, whereto they, being nothing loth, yield at once, the men giving them something.¹ Often, too, they manage love affairs for their mistresses in whose service they are, and never play a contrary game, or violate their confidence, being very faithful. All the money they can make in this way they must give to their master and mistress, who allow them to earn it so, giving them such share as seems good to them, but they do not always return a complete account. All these Indian women, as well Christian as others, and the Metisses also, prefer the company of a man of Europe or old Christian to that of an Indian. They get more money from them, and deem themselves more honoured by their society; for they love white men from these parts, and though some Indians are quite fair, yet they love them not so much.

In this market also are sold great numbers of horses, splendidly caparisoned for the most part. They come from Persia and Arabia, and are like those of Barbary; they are worth 500 pardos in their skins.²

In short, one sees there the wealth of the Indies in all kinds, and jewels the finest that can be seen. There also are the money changers, called *Cherafes*,³ of whom there are several at other points. Their shops are at the ends of streets and at the cross-roads, all covered with money, whereof they pay a tribute to the king. Their gains are

¹ See *Linschoten*, i, 186.

² Taking the *pardão* at 4s. 2d. to 4s. 6d. (*Yule, Gloss., Supp.*) this would be about £104 to £112 apiece. *Linschoten* corroborates the statement: he says good horses fetched 400 to 500 *pardãos*, and the best as much as 1,000 (=£224)! No doubt large numbers perished on the voyage, and in order to keep down the price they were imported into Goa free of duty (*Cesar Frederick, Lond., 1588, p. 4*; *Wm. Barret in Hak. Voy., i, 215*).

³ The "Shroffs" of Anglo-Indian use, *i.e.*, bankers, money changers, or cashiers. The word is Ar. *ṣarrāf* or *ṣairāfi*.

very great, for it is necessary at Goa to have money to go to the market, where everything is of the very cheapest, and one only buys what is required for the hour, and not even for the whole day. So that one is half-burdened with this money, which is bulky and heavy, and of small value withal. There are several kinds of it. The first is that called *Bousuruques*,¹ of which 75 go to a *tangue*. There are other old *bousuruques*, of which 105 go to the *tangue*. Then there are little bits of copper without any mark, called *arco*,² 240 of which are worth a *tangue*, which is equal to 5 sols of our money, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ sols there. Some of this money is of iron, the rest of *callin*,³ a metal of China. When they have amassed a large quantity of all sorts of money they change it with the partisans⁴ or farmers, giving them the silver and gold money, which is struck at Goa, for the receivers take no other in payment. As for the *Larins*,⁵ which is the silver money referred to, and whereof I have spoken elsewhere, it comes from Persia and Ormuz, and is in request all over India, because it is of very good silver, and useful and handy for all occasions. These money changers must be at their shops on all Feast days, and even on Sundays,

¹ Port. *basaruco*, perhaps connected with "bazār"; but see Yule, *Gloss.*, s. v. "Budgrook". This coin was minted all through the Portuguese time, generally of copper, sometimes of tin and tutenay; it varied greatly in value. De Couto says that the Moors of the mainland made large numbers of counterfeit *basarucos* and smuggled them into Goa (*Soldado Pratico*, 128). Linschoten gives the same value to this coin (75 to the *tanga*). A great deal of information as to these coins will be found in Mr. G. da Cunha's *Indo-Port. Numismatics*; but most of his statements as to intrinsic values must be corrected by a perusal of Yule's *Gloss.*, art. "Pardão".

² Port. *arco*, a hoop. Rivara says the coin is still in use under the name *roda*, "wheel"; but the *roda* is a stamped coin, taking its name from St. Catherine's wheel, which it used to bear, and it is, in fact, the *basaruco*. I suspect that the *arco* consisted of bits of thick copper wire bent down in the fashion of the silver *larin*.

³ See vol. i, p. 235.

⁴ "Farmers of the king's revenues" (*Boyer*). ⁵ See vol. i, p. 232.

and they durst not decline to change a piece at the ordained rate. They weigh the gold and silver.

The silver money of Goa is *Perdos*, half *perdos*, *larins*, *tangues*, the last named worth 7 sols 6 deniers apiece, besides what comes from Spain, which is worth more at Goa, for there silver is one-third dearer than in Spain. The copper and iron money, which they call *Bousuruques*, is of little value, like our farthings. The gold pieces are *Cherufins*¹ of 25 sols the piece, and the *Venisiens*² and *S. Thome*³ of 50 sols: other kinds of Spanish gold money are not to be seen, for gold is worth much less there than in Spain.

Over against the square of *Lailon*, of which we have spoken, is another called, as I have said, *Pilory viejo*, or "old pillory", where there is held in the daytime a market of all sorts of fruits and eatables. But when the night comes on and the sun sets, and the *Merignes* or sergeants have withdrawn, there is held another market, called *baratilla*,⁴ that is to say, "at cheap prices", of all sorts of stolen goods, such as clothes, arms, and other things which are sold in fear at very cheap rates. The whole square is full, large though it is; and though it be night the sergeants sometimes pass by, and when they are sighted everyone speedily gets out of the way; afterwards, however, when they have passed, all these vendors return to sell their merchandise: there are at times from four to five hundred of them.

¹ Port. *Xerafim*, from the Ar. *ashrafī*, in early days the gold dinār = 11s. 6d. according to Col. Yule, but at this time less than half that value. Wm. Barret says: "5 tangas make a seraphine of gold." In Portuguese times, however, the term is generally applied to a silver coin called the *pardão xerafim*.

² Venetian sequins were worth a little more than *S. Thomes*. M. Barbosa puts them at 11½ to 12 tangas.

³ So called from the figure of St. Thomas on the reverse (see cut in G. da Cunha, *Indo-Port. Num.*, pl. 2). It was first coined by Garcia de Sá, 1548-9. According to Manoel Barbosa (*Rem. Doct.*) it was worth 10 tangas, or 600 reis, in 1618 (i.e., about 9s.).

⁴ Port. *baratilha*, a cheap or petty auction.

In this square of the old pillory are to be found the bleeders, called *Sangueradores*,¹ and all who require them to bleed the sick go fetch them thence. They are all Christian Indians, as are all the surgeons and apothecaries.² As for the barbers, most of them are not Christians; they go about the streets shaving all comers: for the common folk have no scruples about being shaved in the open street; men of quality go within their shops for the purpose. These barbers are very handy fellows, and work for very little. Most of the Portuguese have their beards and heads shaved.

As for the fresh water used in the island of Goa, it must be remembered that the river surrounds the whole island, although the tide comes up as far as the town, rising and ebbing. But there are here and there a number of springs of water, good and excellent for drinking, which come from the rocks and mountains, and becoming streams, water the island in divers parts; and this is the reason there is so great a number of coco and other fruit trees. As for wells, there are few houses that have none, but they are not for drinking, the water not being good except at some. These wells serve only for bathing, and for washing the body, for cooking, for laundry purposes, and other needs. For there, both men and women of the half-castes bathe their private parts, after they have done the offices of nature, as do the Indians. There are also some fish-ponds and reservoirs, very pretty and built of stone.

But of the ordinary water that is drunk, as well in the city as in the suburbs, the best, healthiest, and lightest, to my mind, is that which is fetched a quarter of a league from the town, where there is a large, beautiful, and clear spring,

¹ Port. *Sangradores*.

² Linschoten (i, 230) says that the native physicians gave themselves great airs, having *sombreiros* carried over them, and that the Portuguese, from the viceroy downwards, put more trust in them than in their own doctors.

called *Banguenin*, coming out of the rocks. The Portuguese have had it enclosed with walls, and well supplied with good channels ; while lower down are large reservoirs, where most of the men and women come to bleach the linen : these folks are called *Menates*¹ : and there are other reservoirs for bathing and washing the body. So that the way there is well trodden and much frequented, although it is difficult of access, because you have to ascend and descend three or four great hills. All the people there are going to and fro for this water alone, and even at ten o'clock at night there are some will assemble, armed, and will go in their shirts and drawers to bathe there. This water is sold in the town. The slaves distribute it everywhere, and carry it in large earthenware jars, holding about two buckets, and sell it at five *bousuruques* the jar, that is, about six deniers. They take their stand with their jars at certain cross-roads, and go not crying it about the town. They make bargains with their masters how much they are to account for the day, and they have to feed themselves upon their work, except on Feast days and Sundays, whereon their masters find them food ; also when they are ill. The same is done in all other trades. The Portuguese might have had this spring led into the town by aqueducts and conduits, but they say that it enriches them, and occupies their slaves, and that strangers would get the enjoyment of this good water without any cost : for there are more strangers there than native inhabitants ; for which reason they have not thought fit to conduct this water into the town.²

There is another very good fountain over against *S. Domi-*

¹ Malayalam *mainattu*, a washerman, used in Indo-Portuguese as *mainato*.

² A short-sighted policy indeed ; the want of good water in Goa was one of the chief causes of the frightful epidemics which led to its present desolation. The Conde de Linhares in 1630 endeavoured to remedy the defect by bringing the Banguenim water to the city by an aqueduct (*Fonseca*, p. 150).

nique, that comes from a mountain on which is a fine church called *Nuestra Senora del Monte*.¹ It is very convenient, having reservoirs for washing linen. It is conveyed into the town for sale, and being nearer at hand, is sold at three bousuruques only. It is nothing like so good as that of *Banguenin*. Besides this, there are other waters round about the town, which are often passed off for *Banguenin* water. In the washing of linen they show a marvellous delicacy, and withal it costs but little. All their linen is of very fine cotton, and very durable; it is also very good for the health, as I found after experience of it for ten years. The *Menates* will bring you your shirt and a pair of drawers, very white and cleaned with soap, for two bousuruques; moreover, they return it all crisped and folded in a pretty fashion; for they soak it so, and then leave it to dry, so that this crisping lasts a long while, and the linen seems damasked and made in that way. They use this linen as well at table as for their beds, for shirts, bands, handkerchiefs, etc. Most of them change their linen every day. A very fine shirt costs but one tange, or seven and a half sols. Of these cotton clothes a marvellous quantity are brought to Goa.

But to return to the waters: that of *Banguenin* is esteemed the best and the lightest, also none other is drunk at the hospital.

The Gentiles drink no other water but that of their housewells, unless they go and fetch it elsewhere themselves, for they are afraid lest others should put something into their drinking-water. They drink from copper goblets made in the form of little pots, which they never touch with their mouths in drinking, as I have already said,—a custom observed by

¹ The hill is close to the Dominicans' convent. On the summit, which commands a view of the whole city, a chapel of Our Lady was built soon after the conquest. It had evidently been reconstructed as a "fine church". The present building, probably the same seen by Pyrard, is well preserved, but disused except on the annual festival (*Fonseca*, 256).

the Portuguese and Christian Indians also. All drink water only, men and women, girls and boys; it is great shame to them to drink wine, and to reproach them therewith is highly offensive. The women drink it not at all, but the men of quality drink a cup or two at most at their dinner and supper, but a little only, and without water. This wine comes from Portugal, and such as cannot afford that drink only *vin de passe*.¹ That of Portugal is worth forty sols the *canade*,² which is our pint; whereas the best *passe* is worth only twenty-five bousuruques, or six blanks,³ and is good and strong. The Portuguese wine is a trifle sour when it reaches Goa. The other wine is white, called *arac*, and is worth only ten bousuruques; it is for folks of low condition and slaves, and they often get drunk of it; it is like *eau-de-vie*. They drink water from vessels made of the prettiest and finest earthenware possible, and the water from them is extremely good and cold. These vessels are enamelled and figured with a thousand different designs, animals and flowers; the enamel is of three colours only, black, white, and red; it is as fine

¹ Port. *vinho de passas*, "raisin wine". Pyrard distinguishes it from arrack, but it was merely arrack with an infusion of Muscat raisins. They are steeped for three or four days in a proportionate amount of arrack, and then taken out; the infusion is strained and poured into an arrack-barrel, and kept for six or eight months. To this infusion was sometimes added another of dates, to give it sweetness. This *vinho de passas* is not in use nowadays, but another concoction is, called *vinho de borra*. About 3 or 3½ xerafins' worth of arrack is put into a barrel that has contained wine from Europe, and kept for six or eight months, the dregs (*borras*) of other barrels are added, and after six or eight months it clarifies, and burnt sugar is added to give colour. This wine, when old, is confounded with white wine, but when rubbed in the palm of the hand it is seen to be a make up, and not the real white wine of the grape. Nowadays, too, a wine is made of weak arrack, with juice of caju, jambolão, and other fruits, the disagreeable odour being removed by means of vegetable charcoal (*Rivara*). "The Portuguese prepare it (arrack) so well with raisins and other ingredients that it is as good as any of their Portugal wines" (Houtman's *Voyage*).

² Port. *canada*.

³ "Half of a sol, a piece of money which we call also a blanke" (*Cotgrave*).

and delicate as glass, and every vessel has a cover. Those in ordinary use are in the form of glass jars, save that the mouth is wider, and the lower part of the neck is less thick. There is a piece of the same ware which is very thin, and all pierced with little holes in pattern, having inside little pebbles which cannot come out: this is for cleaning the vessel. They call these *Gargoulete*.¹ The water comes out only a little at a time, and is let flow from above into the mouth, without a drop being spilled; they deride those who cannot drink in this fashion, as they did us. But I find that this method is in other respects not a good one, for it engenders windiness, for which reason many Portuguese do not adopt it. They have no glasses, except what are brought from these parts or from Persia, and that is but little, and moreover not much esteemed, as they get the *pourcelaines* of China at small cost.

But to return to the island and town of Goa: it is, as it were, the landing-place and halting-place for the whole of the Indies. It is wondrously peopled (not to speak of the strangers who are continually landing there), as well with Portuguese who are masters there, as with Metifs, Indian Christians, and a great quantity of Indian infidels, Mahometans or Gentiles, Banians of Cambaye, Canarins of Goa, Bramenis, and others of like condition who live there, carrying on a great trade and business, many of the richest of them possessing 80,000 to 100,000 crowns and even more. These are the men who farm the revenue, and hold all the great monopolies, as well from the king as from private persons, and both in merchandise and in other things; and nothing can be sold without the consent of these farmers. These classes of the people have streets to themselves, where they keep shops for each article of trade. For the Portuguese out there engage in no mechanical arts, in whatever necessity they may be, but call themselves all gentlemen, and live

¹ See vol. i, 329, note.

like noblemen, save that they traffic when it seems good to them, in gross but not retail. They, too, have the sole right to carry or possess arms, a right which is not conceded to the Indians, unless they be Christians.

The Portuguese men of quality never travel except on horseback; they have a large number of horses which come from Persia and Arabia; they are beautiful and good horses, like those of Spain, save that they are smaller; they are broken by the grooms, who are men of the Dealcan country, and very adroit.

The harness of these horses comes from Bengal, from China, and Persia; it is all of silk embroidery, and enriched with gold and silver and fine pearls. The stirrups are of silver gilt, the bridle is adorned with precious stones and silver, with silver bells. When they do not ride, they have themselves borne in a litter or *Palanquin*.

When they proceed about the streets they are followed by pages on foot, lacqueys, and slaves, in great number, bearing arms and dressed in their liveries. They never go forth but they cause to be carried over their heads by one of their slaves a parasol or sunshade, which they call *sombrero*, and those who cannot afford to possess slaves carry these themselves over their heads.

The women of quality, too, go not forth except seated and borne in a *Palanquin*, which is a kind of litter carried by four slaves, covered with a silk or leather hood, and followed by pages and a number of female slaves, all gaily dressed in silk; for silk is so common in those parts that even the valets are all clothed with it, and the ladies and gentlemen of quality prefer to wear serge stuffs from Europe.

Only the Portuguese may hold offices and benefices; and the soldiers of the garrison are Portuguese. The merchants and artisans are all Indians, as I have said, and they keep shops, paying a tribute to the king as well for their merchandise as for their shops.

CHAPTER V.

Of the government of Goa.—Of the viceroy, his court, and magnificence.

The city of Goa is governed by the viceroy, whose power extends over the whole of the East Indies. Every three years the King of Spain sends one out, who never makes his entry until his predecessor has made his exit, the latter retiring to a house appointed for the purpose. As soon as he has withdrawn, the other makes his entry with great magnificence and triumph.

He is escorted by the whole city, which goes forth to meet him at his castle of *Pangin*, with a fleet of galiots, *Manchouas*, and other vesssels. These gentry of the town represent the clergy, the noblesse, and the third estate, who accompany him, and give banquets in his honour, and keep open house the whole day. The viceroy then lands near the town, and thence proceeds with all this company to the *Asseo*, or cathedral church, where a *Te Deum* is sung; all the bells of the town are rung the day long. Thence he takes his way to the palace in the same order, where he has a display of all the wealth and curiosities of the town. All the day thousands of salvos of cannon are fired, and all night there is a blaze of fireworks. He is accompanied continually by instruments of music, trumpets and clarions, from the time he sets foot on land till he reaches his palace, which is a good quarter of a league's distance. Along his way are prepared many triumphal arches, each estate and guild of merchants making theirs in rivalry of the rest: these are in great numbers and of great beauty.¹

If it happens that the viceroy dies within the three years,

¹ Barros and Couto likewise describe the ceremonies observed at the change of viceroys; perhaps the fullest account is that in Barros, *Dec III*, liv. ix, c. iii. (See also F. N. Xavier, *Scr. Chron.*, pp. 5-14.)

another is sent out by the King of Spain; and in the meantime the city is ready for the emergency, and one of the governors named in the letter of the King of Spain is taken; for usually these letters contain a power of substitution¹ of one person for another; that is to say, failing one, that such another should be the person: in this way many are named. These letters are not opened except in case of need, and the Jesuit Fathers are the keepers of them. They are opened in the town-house, in presence of all the principal Portuguese. When no one is named in the letter, then all the clergy, noblesse, and chief burghers assemble, and choose one of themselves, subject to the king's approval, as happened while I was there²; in such case the person elected is called Governor of India, and not Viceroy.

While I was at Goa I saw four that had been appointed one after the other.³ He who was viceroy when I left was called *Dom Louys Laurence d'Estable*.

The viceroy there is obeyed like the King of Spain, and

¹ *Via de successão*, "method or course of succession". The ceremony is described by Linschoten (ii, 204), and by Philippus à S. Trin (Lat. edit., p. 228; Fr. edit., p. 282). These commissions were numbered and dated, and the most recent was opened first. Philippus describes the ceremony as taking place in the church during the funeral of the deceased viceroy. The body was brought within the church in the midst of the assembled grandees. Then the casket containing the *vias* was produced and opened by means of three keys kept by the secretary, chancellor, and treasurer respectively. If the person named in any *via* was abroad or dead, the next was opened, and in this way no less than six had to be opened on the occasion at which Philippus assisted.

² This is a mistake, as Mr. Rivara shows. The only governor who succeeded by substitution in Pyrard's time was André Furtado de Mendoça, and he was found to be nominated on the opening of the *vias*.

³ He refers to (1) the Archbishop (Aleixo de Menezes) by nomination in the *vias*, in succession to the viceroy M. Affonso de Castro, who had died at Malacca; (2) the Conde de Feira, sent out as viceroy in 1608, who died on the voyage; (3) A. Furtado de Mendoça, who succeeded as governor by *via*, 27th May 1609; and (4) the viceroy Ruy Lourenço de Tavora, who arrived from Portugal 5th Sept. 1609.

has the same authority, having power to grant pardons, or to condemn to death without appeal, save in the case of gentlemen, called by them *Fidalgos*. For these, when they appeal, whether in criminal or civil matters, are sent prisoners, chained at the feet, to Portugal.¹ I saw at Goa a soldier who, being condemned to death for having slain a man, was being taken to the place of execution, a quarter of a league from the town. It happened by his good fortune that he was met by the viceroy's son, recently appointed to the government of Ormuz, being then from ten to twelve years of age.² He inquired who he was, and the convict threw himself at his feet and sued for mercy. The boy asked his tutor if he might claim this of his father without incurring his anger, and being answered that he might, he went forthwith to the palace and made humble suit to his father for the pardon. The viceroy granted his prayer, provided the crime was not one which touched the state or the king's service; and being informed that it was not, he was well enough pleased to see this kindly nature in his son. All the soldiers were exceedingly grateful to him, and so the poor criminal was delivered.

The viceroy treats none with familiarity, nor ever goes to assemblies or banquets. He goes abroad but rarely, except on the great festivals and on days when he is so minded. On the evening preceding the day when he intends to go forth, drums and trumpets are sounded throughout the whole town as a warning to the nobility, as I have already said,

¹ Surely, chained only if criminals. See Linschoten, i, 218.

² A manuscript note in Mr. Rivara's copy gives the name of this boy as Christorão de Tavora. As will be seen below, the child had not left to take up his government when Pyrard left India. The captain of Ormuz at this time was Henrique da Noronha. He was being frequently reprimanded in the royal despatches, and was dismissed, it seems, in 1610. It is likely that the viceroy's son was appointed to succeed to a casual vacancy of the office, which the viceroy, perhaps, brought about by traducing the holder. It does not appear whether the boy ever in fact took up the command.

who assemble in the early morning before the palace, all on horseback and in grand array. I have on occasions seen some three and four hundred or more of them. These gentlemen are superbly appalled; their horses are barbed and covered with gold, silver, brocades, pearls, and precious stones. When each of them arrives there and dismounts, they have their master-grooms in waiting, who are all Moors, that is, Mahometans of Balagate or Decan, whose charge is to mind and groom the horses. These fellows are very expert with horses, and are not a whit afraid of any animal, however wild or vicious. They will mount him without saddle, spur him and urge him to his full speed, without ever falling off. Their horses are as sleek as can be. To tame and break them they use drums covered with bells, like our basque tambourines; and to make them amble they attach little balls to the joints of their legs. I have never seen horses so swift as those there. Most of them come from Persia; some from Arabia, and these are esteemed the best. They eat but little; they get hay, but most often green grass. They give them also a certain grain like lentils.¹ They are so careful of their horses that they cover them, when in stable, entirely, and even lay kinds of mats for them to lie upon. They water them always in the stable, and picket them by the heels for fear lest they hurt themselves.

But to return to the Portuguese lords and gentlemen: when they dismount, these master-grooms hold their horses, of which they take great care, carrying always themselves horse-tail switches, fitted in a handle, for brushing away the flies; also a towel and a soaked sponge, and a curry-comb in a sac, to wipe away the foam and sweat from the horse, and to rub him down and polish him when he requires it. They carry fine horsecloths of red velvet for the most part, fringed with gold

¹ Meaning, no doubt, chickpea (*Cicer arietinum*, L.), which is now known all over India as "gram" (Port. *grão*, "grain"). See Yule, *Gloss*.

and embroidery. The most costly and valued of these are those of red scarlet. These are for covering the horses when their masters are dismounted, for when they are mounted they use neither horsecloths, nor riding-boots, nor spurs, for riding in the town. The stirrup-straps are of silk, the buckles and other mountings of silver, as also are the stirrups. The horse's tail is tied up and enclosed in a truss, with clasps and buckles of gold and silver, set with pearls or stones. Besides these horses, they often have carried behind them also their litter or *Palanquin*, and always, whether on foot or on horseback, their sombrero or parasol, for the heat as well as the rain. Even when they go a-foot they have their horse led and palanquin borne behind; also a number of pages, as many as ten or a dozen.

These pages are not nobles, but little boys brought out of Portugal, not grown enough to bear arms. They are habited all in silk, in the liveries and colours of their masters, and wear mantles. Their service only is to attend their masters and to carry messages, which they call *Racates*.¹ They mingle not with the other serving-men. Besides these pages, they have six or seven huge *Cafres* of Mozambique carrying swords, with mantles like men-at-arms, and habited otherwise than the pages, but in the masters' colours. They take these men with them for security, for these *Cafres* would die sooner than see their masters come by the smallest hurt, so courageous are they; and if it be night they carry other arms, such as pikes and halberts. They are called *Pions* or *Cafres*. For the Portuguese never follow after their master,

¹ Port. *recado*, a message or errand: the plural, *recados*, is used as our "compliments". The expression seems to have been taken up by the English of Bombay and Surat, as in 1675 we find Dr. Fryer (p. 71) stating that a Jesuit near the former place sent "his *Recarders* (a term of congratulation, as we say, *our service*) with the presents of the best fruit and wines, and whatever we wanted." Unless Dr. Murray and his coadjutors can give earlier authority, I venture to think we have here the original of our modern phrase, "kind regards".

however great he be, or when they do so it is on horseback as do the gentlemen here after the princes and lords.

When the viceroy, who was at Goa while I was there, went forth, his son was wont to go, not by his side, but about two or three hundred paces behind, along with his gentlemen, and serving men; and ordinarily such of the latter, even the chiefest of them, as wished to please the viceroys, tarry with their sons; the rest go with the viceroy.

In church and at processions the viceroy takes the right side and the archbishop the left. Next after comes the son, who holds the government of Ormus, for he is the first governor after the viceroy. For the rest, the viceroy in his person is not observant of so much magnificence as are the lords. All who have horses, though they be not nobles by birth, fail not to accompany the viceroy; for they call themselves all nobles.

When the viceroy or the lords return to Portugal, they sell all their horses to the new comers.

When a viceroy arrives in the Indies he lands at *Pangin*, as I have said, and then sends to give notice of the fact with his letters of appointment, which are opened in the Town-house before the other viceroy, who prepares to quit office, and the officers of the new-comer set about furnishing and preparing the palace.¹ For the next seven or eight days preparations are made to receive him like a king, and in this view great expenditure is made. The retiring viceroy comes to meet the other, and makes a speech to him; how that he leaves everything in his hands, in what fashion he ought to conduct himself, as well towards the Indians as the Portuguese, with whom, on account of their arrogance, he ought to

¹ Linschoten says that the departing viceroy made a clean sweep; "there stayeth not a stool or bench within the house, nor one pennie in the treasure, but they leave the house so bare and naked as possible, so that the viceroy must make provision for to furnish it, and gather new treasure" (i, 221).

use the curb. That done he withdraws, and some state visits are paid. As soon as the viceroy quits office he receives no longer the title of *Seigneurie*,¹ for in the Indies only the viceroy and the archbishop get this title. To the others they say *Vostre merce*,² and to ecclesiastics *Reverence* and *Paternité*. The new viceroy takes out almost all the officers of his household, and appoints no others, unless some have died on the way. The king pays and maintains all his servants.

As soon as he has arrived all the ambassadors of the Indian Kings come to salute him, while he despatches couriers to all the friendly kings to confirm the alliance, and they send to him extraordinary ambassadors with presents,³ forming as it were a new alliance with him. Next, all the Christians, that is the Indian Christians (not the Portuguese, who wish not that their number be known), show themselves before him under their Portuguese or Metice captains, for all are obliged to appear in arms. They do not all appear in one day, but each parish has its own feast-day. This takes place in the presence of the viceroy; in the field of *S. Lazaro*, or else they march past in order before the fortress, the viceroy sitting in his gallery. The captain makes a harangue, and all take the oath to him. The infidels are not paraded, and are not allowed to have arms in their houses.

The viceroy never goes out to dine anywhere, except on the day of the Conversion of S. Paul, at the College of the Jesuits, or, on the day of the Circumcision, at the church⁴ of the Good Jesus. He is served with his meat and drink in royal style, and eats alone, except sometimes when the archbishop goes to the palace to dine with him. On these feast-days the greatest lords eat at his table, but not opposite to

¹ Port. *vossa senhoria*.

² Port. *vossa mercê*.

³ The Jesuits formerly had these as perquisites by royal licence, but Luiz de Ataide (1568-1571) and subsequent governors took them to themselves (*Linschoten*, i, 221).

⁴ Read "the Professed House".

him, nor of the same dishes. Many delicate and excellent dishes are sent to him from the great houses, but he never tastes them, for he is too much afraid of being poisoned. He trusts only the Jesuits; and even has Jesuit apothecaries, who frequently give him medicines. So it is that these fathers do greatly enjoy his credit and confidence.

As for the salary and fixed pay of the viceroy, it is but a small matter compared with the great profits which he can make during the three years of his office; these amount sometimes to a million of gold.¹ His fixed pay is 30,000 croisados,² each worth two perdos or thereabout. This however, would not be sufficient for his maintenance, were it not for the presents, profits, and other perquisites which amount to a large sum. As soon as he arrives, all the captains, governors, and king's officers come promptly to meet him, and to obtain some favour of him, either an expedition, a dignity, or other such thing; and with this view they give him grand presents, and even without such intent, according to the value and revenue of their fortresses, whereof the least is worth from twelve to fifteen thousand croisades, for they cannot well plunder and make their fortunes without his favour. All of them have their offices for three years only, during which they must amass enough for the rest of their lives.

The viceroy makes large gifts and rewards to officers, revenues and money to such as have served the king well,

¹ "These viceroys have great renewes, they may spend, give and keepe the king's treasure, which is verie much, and doe with it what pleaseth them, for it is in their choyse, having full and absolute power from the king, in such sort that they gather and horde up a mightie quantitie of treasure, for that besides their great allowance from the king they have great presents and gifts bestowed upon them" (*Linschoten*, i, 220). Milburn (*Or. Comm.*, p. 306) states that some of the viceroys returned to Portugal with £300,000, and some of the governors and generals with £100,000.

² Equal to about £14,000 a year at present rates. The Governor-General now receives only £1,250 salary.

as well as to cripples, widows, and children : all this at the expense of the king. He has many offices in his gift. Those who have been in the king's service must have their certificate from him, and then only is it valued ; it must also be signed by the captains who are present at the embarkations. But the mischief is that the viceroy takes money of all those gifts and offices, and makes out to the king that he has given them in full. In this way he answers numbers of petitions for gifts and presents, and the *Viador de Hacienda* and the Treasurers are in league with him, none of whom like parting with money. For all that, they charge the king in account, and so they do with the pay of the soldiers, officers, and mariners.

With regard to the ordinary alms-giving of the viceroy, it is twice a week, and on the feast days and Sundays when he goes forth. This alms is only given to the poor Christian Indians : his almoner gives them some money in the great square in front of the palace. Should there be some woman who is a widow of a Portuguese, she is put aside, and she receives more than the Indian women. The poor soldiers, mariners, and other Portuguese, come into the great painted hall of which I have spoken. The women and children are in another, and the viceroy sends his master of the household with his almoner to give them money. On such a day he will give two or three hundred perdos. All the Portuguese women and girls come in covered Palanquins, and present their applications which they call *Peticions*,¹ wherein is contained their request, and the ground of it ; the next day they come to see if there be any answer to it. Those who are sick may send for their answers. This alms is given conformably to the quality of the individual. The viceroy receives all these *Peticions* himself and replies on the following day. Out of all these he makes for himself a double profit. Besides that, he often sends alms to the

¹ Port. *petições*.

prisons, churches, hospitals, and other sacred places, and procures marriages for many girls and widows.

So it is that for the three years the viceroy and the other captains and governors are in the Indies, they take more pains to enrich themselves than to protect and preserve the State; and in so short a time they are unable to effect great results in war. For in the first year, it is all they can do to learn the details and forms of Government, know the various peoples, and despatch fleets and armies. The second year, they fill their purses. For they give nothing of their own, and if aught has to be given to kings, lords, ambassadors, etc., it is at the expense of the king. The Portuguese captains and lords receive no other presents than licences to make voyages and to trade, or privileges and office. Such as have no places, hope to become generals, captains, lieutenants, and to have command of the armies, or of the war and merchant fleets, which the king despatches. The third year the viceroy in some cases employs in visiting all the fortresses of the Indian coast, with a large force, that is between Coilan and Ormus.¹ But he draws large profits from this voyage, as well from the captains and governors, as from the other officers, and from the countries visited, although the king is debited with the whole expense. So it is no wonder these viceroys enrich themselves so much, nor that their servants and officers, who to the number of fifty or sixty live at the palace sumptuously, do the same. Also when any disaster befalls the viceroy on his way from Portugal, as happens often enough, the news brings little grief to him that is in office. This, indeed, happened the year before I came away, for the viceroy who was coming, called *Comte de Fera*,² died

¹ Linschoten states the tasks to which the viceroys addressed themselves during each of their three years in almost identical terms (i, 222) and intimates that this division of their time had become systematic and proverbial.

² D. João Pereira Frojas, Conde de Feira, appointed as nineteenth viceroy to succeed D. Martim Aff. de Castro, who died at Malacca in June

on the coast of Guinea, and his body was taken back to Portugal. He was coming out with fourteen ships, whereof only five arrived safe at Goa; the rest were lost or taken by the Hollanders.¹ It is to be noted that, of all that die in the Indies, the bodies of viceroys only are taken back to Portugal.

When the viceroy takes his departure, he chooses what vessels he will, and causes them to be victualled for himself and his suite; this is called *Matelotage*²: and some time is taken in its preparation. When the Portuguese learn that a viceroy, archbishop, or great lord, or captain is going, they try to get a passage, and leave to go with him: for every one in the ship gets his victuals, except the crew and officers who have their wages: all the gentlemen and soldiers, however, are maintained gratuitously; for when those great lords prepare to embark for Portugal, they cause to be shipped victuals for so many persons, besides their ordinary suite. It is greatly a matter of favour to get enrolled for a passage in the viceroy's list: it costs fully two or three hundred perdos to get well fed.

For the rest, it is great misfortune for the Portuguese in the Indies, when they get a troublesome and choleric, or

1607. F. y Sousa writes of him: "He raised in all men great expectation, as well for his personal merit as the greatness of his quality, and the preparations for his voyage were suitable, being the greatest that till then had been. His squadron consisted of six ships and eight galleons." He set out on the 29th March 1608, and died off the Guinea coast on the 15th May. His body was sent back and arrived at Lisbon 24th July (Stevens' *Faria y Sousa*, iii, 153).

¹ The fortunes of this ill-fated squadron are described in detail by Mocquet, who set out with the viceroy as his medical attendant. Mocquet himself arrived at Goa: of the lost ships he mentions particularly the carrack *Saluaçon*, wrecked on the coast of Arabia; the *Oliveira*, which when hotly pursued by the Dutch was run ashore, burnt, and abandoned by its crew on the *Ilhas Quemadas*, near Goa; and the galleon *Bom Jesus*, captured by the Dutch near Mozambique (Mocquet, *Voyage*).

² The victuals put on board ship, from *matalote*, a sailor.

vicious viceroy (as indeed is often the case), as well on account of their debauching women and girls, as of other vices. For they have so much privilege, power, and authority, that when they take a fancy to a pretty girl or woman, it will go hard but they have their way, whether by money, friendship, or force. But there is hardly need of force, for the women are nothing loth, deeming themselves in luck and boasting thereof; as for their husbands, they are sent on expeditions hither and thither.

But it happens often enough that, as all this wealth of the viceroys accrues to them from pillage and robbery, so the sea inherits it, and all is miserably lost. This frequent change of viceroys is displeasing to the Portuguese and to the Indians, as is no less that of the governors of the various forts and other officers. To illustrate which they tell a parable, how that one day there lay a poor man at the door of a church, his legs full of ulcers, and so covered with flies as was pitiful to behold; up came a neighbour who, thinking to do him a kindness, drove away the flies: whereat the poor patient was much vexed, saying that the flies he drove away already had their bellies full, and would not bite him more, whereas those that would come would be hungry and would sting him worse. So it is, they say, with the viceroys, for the gorged depart and the hungry arrive.¹ Nevertheless the King of Spain maintains these changes for two reasons. First, for fear of revolt, for they do not all enter upon their

¹ Æsop's fable of the Fox and the Hedgehog, in which the latter proposed to drive away the flies. Aristotle (*Rhet.* ii, 20) says that Æsop told this fable to the Samians to teach them that they were better off under the rich than under demagogues. La Fontaine used it (*Liv.* xii, *Fab.* xiii), with this moral :

“ Nous ne trouvons que trop de mangeurs ici-bas :

Ceux-ci sont courtisans, ceux-là sont magistrats.

Aristote appliquoit cet apologue aux hommes.

Les exemples en sont communs,

Sur-tout au pays où nous sommes.

Plus telles gens sont pleins, moins ils sont importuns.”

offices at the same time ; but now one, and again one. The second is, to enrich and satisfy his subjects. As for himself, he gets no profit from it. The viceroys, being there so short a while, cannot take resolution to revolt ; for as I have said, 'all the governors and captains of the forts do not assume and retire from office at the same but at different times. Furthermore, almost all have their wives, children, and property in Portugal. And when they could do it, they would require to be avowed by some powerful king in Europe, who would act as do the Spanish kings in Portugal. For if they had not a market for their merchandise and goods in Europe, all their Indies would avail them naught. They would need also supplies of men, money, munitions of war, ships, and merchandise from Europe. For the maintenance of this Empire is so great a business as would require a puissant king to undertake it, one who would have to bide his time by sinking more than he would draw from it. But in another aspect there is a recompense. In the first place, the general merit of the increase of Christianity ; secondly, the alliance with all the most powerful kings of India ; and lastly, the enrichment of all his people and realms, who but for the Indies would frequently be dying of hunger. Also there would die by the law in Portugal more men than now, were it not for these foreign lands, whither they are sent in exile to fight against Infidels, and to serve their king for the rest of their lives.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the Archbishop of Goa, the Inquisition, ecclesiastics, and ceremonies observed there, with other occurrences.

Having spoken of the viceroy and his state, it will be not out of place to say something of the archbishop, the first prelate in the Indies. He who held office while I was at



DOM FR. ALEIXO DE MENEZES

3d Archbishop of Goa and 1st Primate of the East Indies 1595—1610:

36th Governor of India 1606—1609.

(From the LIVRO DO ESTADO DA INDIA of P. Barretto de Resende.

Sloane Collection No. 197.)

Goa, was of the order of S. Augustin, whose habit he wore ; he was aged about fifty years, and had been fifteen or sixteen years in this charge. For charity and alms-giving he had a great reputation. He had built and endowed a large number of monasteries and convents. He gives alms in public to all sorts of needy folk, in like manner as the viceroy ; but he gives it oftener, inasmuch as he goes abroad oftener. He is served at table in the same way. For a long while he held both offices of viceroy and archbishop together.¹ He gets the title of lordship like the viceroy ; he has power over the clergy in the Indies, and there represents the Pope. He is served with covered dishes, and eats in public. They have a custom to cause a dozen poor folk to eat at their table of the same viands, but seated lower than themselves ; but this archbishop causes them to sit at another table opposite his own. That is at dinner and supper. He is served with a dish of silver gilt, and the poor with porcelain. These poor are not Indians, but Portuguese soldiers and mariners, that are reduced to need, whether by play or by not receiving their pay. When he is at table the door of his dining-room is opened, and his attendants choose and pass in such twelve as they think fit. It is amusing to see them striving for the first place, and he that once gets a seat does not give it up. I have often eaten there when I had no money. When there are more than twelve, the remainder wait in the great hall until the archbishop has eaten, and then something is sent to some of them of what is over from his table.

The revenue of this prelate is marvellously great ; this one had a steward worth 60,000 crusadoes, and all his other servants and officers were proportionately rich. These servants are called *Criados* ; most of them were from Portugal. The

¹ From the departure of M. Aff. de Castro for Achin in 1606, until the 27th May, 1609, when he was succeeded by A. Furtado de Mendoça.

others are slaves, called *Captivos*.¹ His almsgiving is not always of his own purse, but every year he receives large sums in pence for this purpose. He draws large profits and presents from all the other prelates and ecclesiastics in the Indies. He holds his own court and has his own prisons at Goa; also he has the superintendence of the Inquisition, and gets his share of the goods of such as are haled thither. This man takes great thought about building churches and monasteries, and chiefly one of his own order, which he enlarges and enriches greatly;² also he has reserved for himself a lodging there, whereto he retires for two or three days at a time. Sometimes he goes for eight whole days to stay at another called *Nuestra Senora del Capbo*, which is a convent of the Capuchins or Recluses, at the entrance of the river. He goes thither by water in his *Manchoue* or little covered galiot.

When the viceroy or the archbishop goes anywhither by water, they are accompanied by an infinite number of *manchoues* of lords. On board of these is excellent music of cornets-à-bouquin, hautbois, and other instruments; all the great lords have the same. When the archbishop goes through the streets it is in his palanquin, accompanied by many gentlemen on horse, and prelates, each in his own palanquin. Then follow numbers of pages and armed retainers on foot. His Portuguese servants or *Creados* ride on horseback. At the grand solemnities and public processions he walks in his pontifical robes, and has a cross like that I saw in the church of the Jesuits, whereof I spoke above.³

¹ Implying capture in war; those kidnapped or bought in market overt were simply *escravos*.

² Menezes caused several churches to be built, among the chief S. Alexius and the Holy Trinity. He enlarged and enriched the monastery of the Augustinians, his own order, and also founded the nunnery of Santa Monica, and the Retreats of the Serra and Mary Magdalen.

³ See p. 59.

This he has carried before him by a chaplain or an almoner. In the court of his house and in front of it are always a large number of horses and palanquins of lords and others, who have come to see him on business, or to pay him a visit. He never leaves Goa,¹ and never makes any visits, leaving that to his Bishop of Goa.²

This prelate had a great desire to return to Portugal, but he durst not go, for the king must first send out another to relieve him. Nevertheless he had obtained his leave, and had made all his preparations as to provisions, and *matelotage* for more than a hundred persons, besides his own suite, who far exceeded that number; and it costs at least 300 perdos to maintain a man from the Indies to Portugal. My two companions and I presented our petition to him, that he would be pleased to allow us to embark in his carrack, to which request he acceded, as he did to numberless others. But about a month before the ships were ready to depart, he took it into his head to remain another year, and in fact I have since heard that he returned safely to Lisbon a year afterwards.³ While I was yet in the Indies I heard tell that the King of Spain was greatly incensed against him for the matter of the death of the King of Ormus, whom he caused to be burned at Goa, as I shall relate hereafter.⁴ For all the Portuguese said that he alone was of this counsel, the viceroy⁵

¹ A mistake: the author seems not to have heard of his famous visit to Malabar in 1599, and the synod of Diamper, when Menezes reduced the Nestorians to subjection to the Roman see. He also visited the churches of the north. Other archbishops did the like.

² He was a bishop *in partibus*, not titular Bishop of Goa (*Rivara*).

³ He left Goa in Dec. 1610, and arrived at Lisbon 22nd June 1611. His return is noted in an English letter from Lisbon, 26th June 1611, three Englishmen from the *Hector* and the *Ascension* having come in the same carrack (*Cal. St. Pap. E. I.*, No. 575).

⁴ See ch. xviii, where he is described as the brother of the King of Ormuz.

⁵ A mistake; there was no viceroy at the time, Menezes himself being governor (see ch. xviii).

and all the noblesse, and even the Inquisition, being willing to save him; but the archbishop had his will by a lavish use of pistoles, wherewith he was well furnished. For my part, I found him a good-natured man, and free-handed in almsgiving. He supplied us with the means of buying clothes and shirts when the time came for our embarking. He often spoke to us and did us many a good turn. He was principally astonished that the French had been able to round the Cape of Good Hope, seeing that the Kings of France and Spain were in alliance, and had a friendly understanding. Wherefore he deemed those that did it all to be pirates and robbers, which was the opinion all there had of us; and that it did not seem so strange in the English and Hollanders, who were enemies of their country and religion. For all that, this archbishop did not say, like the rest, that we ought to be hanged, with the charter and passports of our king round our necks.

For a long time the Jesuits and he have been at law, for they decline to recognise him in aught, but only the Pope and their General; this lawsuit is pending at Rome. When he goes abroad a large *sombrero* or parasol is borne over his head; and be it noted that his, and that of the viceroy and the other great lords, are very magnificent, and covered with velvet or other silk stuff, and in winter with some fine wax-cloth, the stick prettily worked and painted with gold and blue.

As for the other prelates, they hold their sees under the same regulations as in Spain. The Inquisition¹ consists of two fathers, who are held in great dignity and respect; but the one is much greater man than the other, and is called *Inquisidor Major*. Their procedure is much more severe

¹ The Inquisition was first established in Goa in 1560, abolished in 1774, re-established in 1779, and finally closed in 1812. Its great celebrity is due to the account by Dellon (*Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa*, Paris, 1688, Eng. Trans., Hull, 1812). To us it is chiefly known

than in Portugal; they often burn Jews, whom the Portuguese call *Christianos novos*, that is to say, "New Christians". The first time they are taken before the holy Inquisition, all their goods are seized at the same time; they are seldom arrested unless they are rich. The king supplies the cost of this process to everyone who has not wherewithal. But ordinarily they attack them not except they learn that they have amassed much property. Nothing in the world is more cruel and pitiless than this process. For the least suspicion, the slightest word, whether of a child or of a slave who wishes to do his master a bad turn, is enough to hang a man; and they give credence to a child, however young, so only he can speak. Sometimes they are accused of putting their crucifixes in the cushions whereon they sit and kneel; sometimes of striking the images, or of refraining from eating bacon; in short that they are still secretly observing their ancient law, though they conduct themselves in public as good Christians. I verily believe that whatever is desired is assumed of them. Only the rich are put to death, while the poor get off with some penance. And, what is most cruel and wicked, a man who would do evil to another will, in revenge, go and accuse him of this crime. When the other is arrested, there is no friend will dare say a word for him, or

by the dramatic picture of the *auto-da-fé* in Marryat's *Phantom Ship*. It is said that the chief merit in its final closure is due to Dr. Claudius Buchanan, who visited Goa in 1808, and whose *Christian Researches in Asia* appeared at a time when England was able to exercise a strong influence upon Portugal. The reader should consult also the account of it by the Carmelite Philippus à Sanctâ Trinitate, who relates that the *samarras* of the condemned were, in his time, painted with their own effigies amid flames and demons, and that these were taken off before the final scene, and afterwards hung up in the Dominican church for a memorial. Philippus and Dellon also state, what Pyrard omits or did not see, that the inquisitors frequently tried and condemned dead men—a grim pastime! The heretical bones were dug up and carried to execution in a box, their former possessor being represented by an effigy, carried aloft on a pole. See the procession depicted in Dellon's cut.

will visit him, or lift a hand in his behalf, no more than for a person charged with high treason. The people durst not speak in public of this Inquisition but with very great honour and respect; and if a chance word should escape a man, having but the smallest reference to it, he must forthwith go accuse and denounce himself, if he suspect that any one has heard him. Otherwise, if another denounce you, you will be at once arrested. It is a terrible and fearful thing to be there even once, for you have no proctor or advocate to speak for you, while they are judges and parties at once. The form of the procedure is all the same as in Spain, Italy and Portugal. Sometimes men are kept prisoners two or three years without knowing the cause,—visited by none but officers of the Inquisition, and in a place where they never see a fellow-creature. If they have no means of livelihood, the king gives it them. The Indian Gentiles and Moors, of whatsoever religion, are not subject to this Inquisition unless they have become Christians, and even then are not so rigorously dealt with as the Portuguese or new Christians from Portugal, or other Christians from Europe. But if peradventure an Indian, Moor, or Gentile inhabitant of Goa, had dissuaded or hindered another that was minded to become Christian, and that was proved against him, he would be punished by the Inquisition, as would be he who has caused another to quit Christianity; such cases often happen. The reason why they treat these Indians thus rigorously is that they suppose that they cannot be so steadfast in the faith as the old Christians; also that it will prevent the rest from being led astray. For the same reason, too, they permit them to retain some of their petty Gentile and Mahometan superstitions, such as not eating pork or beef, not drinking wine, and keeping to their former dress and ornaments, that is among men as well as women that are become Christians.

It would be impossible to calculate the number of all

those put to death by this Inquisition in ordinary course at Goa. I shall content myself with the single example of a Hollander jeweller or lapidary, that had resided there five-and-twenty years and more, and was married to a Portuguese Metice, by whom he had an exceeding pretty daughter of marriageable age, and had amassed goods to the amount of about thirty or forty thousand crusadoes. Being at that time on bad terms with his wife, he was accused of having the books of the pretended¹ religion, whereupon he was arrested and his goods seized. One half was left to his wife, the other to the Inquisition. I know not what befel him, but I am inclined to believe that he was put to death, or at the least lost all his property ; he was a Hollander. They did not treat in like sort a Portuguese soldier, who had married both in Portugal and in the Indies ; but he was poor. They sent him in our carrack to Portugal as a prisoner to Lisbon ; had he been rich, they had never taken the pains to send him. For the rest, all the other Inquisitions of the Indies depend upon that of Goa.² It is upon all the greater feast-days that they carry out their judgments. Then they cause all these poor culprits to march together in shirts steeped in sulphur and painted with flames of fire ; the difference between those that have to die and the rest being that their flames are turned upwards and the others downwards. They are led straight to the great church or *A See* which is hard by the prison, and are there during the mass and the sermon, wherein they receive the most strenuous remonstrances. Thereafter they are conducted to the *Campo Sancto Lazaro*, where the condemned are burned in the presence of the rest, who look on.

But to speak of the ecclesiastics of the Indies, there are of them a vast number of all the religious orders, all maintained by the King of Spain, besides those that come to beg, to

¹ *I.e.* Protestant.

² In other parts of India there were only commissaries.

whom is given much in charity, the king himself giving some provision. The parish priests are all paid equally, and the king takes all the tithes, the Pope having permitted him to do so¹; the profits and offertories of the Church go to the priests and vicars. All the ecclesiastics are habited in cotton serge, wool being there too scarce and dear, and having to come from Portugal, while cotton is very agreeable on account of the heat. There it is not as here, for all the religious orders baptise, confess, and hold cures, and also administer all the sacraments, just like the secular priests, whom they call *Clerigos*. Native Indians, and men of all manner of religions are ordained as priests, but not as Jesuits, whom they require to be Christians born of both father and mother of Europe. All the ecclesiastics are passing rich and make their private gains. The Jesuits have everything in common, and when they go upon a journey anywhither, they carry nothing save their breviary. They only preach the doctrine and manage the colleges in those lands, teaching all manner of sciences, and instructing the children of both Christian Indians and Portuguese.

Their principal and chief college in all India is *S. Paul de Goa*, which they have caused to be built over against their house and church: and all the classes therein are well distinguished and ordered. The scholars enter not into the house of the fathers; while the masters go not forth of their house to come to their classes, nor pass through the street to get there. They often have representations of plays and comedies, with wars and battles, as well on foot as on horse, and all in exceeding good order and array. I estimate there are more than 3,000 scholars in this college. When they go to their studies, before entering the class, they go and hear mass at the church of *S. Paul*; and on leaving the class, all those of the same class-room put themselves in order, and with loud voice chant through the street some

¹ So too in Brazil, and in Spanish America.

prayers and orisons with their creed. Only the children of under fifteen years chant thus on their way; those of fifteen years and over do not so. This they practice so as daily to be attracting the heathen to the faith.

On every feast-day, and Sunday after mid-day, the masters and other appointed Jesuits, go in procession through the town with crosses and banners, chanting with all their scholars, who march in order according to their classes, all singing, young and old. Followed by a great number of the inhabitants, they proceed to the Church *du Bon Jesus*, the house of their Order, where a Jesuit father catechises them; and the whole church is filled with benches for this purpose. The women go thither also to hear the catechising, nor fail they a single festival or Sunday. These Jesuit fathers take no money from the scholars.

All persons of Goa on going to be confessed, are required to get from the priest that has confessed them, a certificate for the communion, the which they must deliver up ere they will be received at the table. The ticket is marked with the name of Jesus. This has been ordained against the new Christians, who often enough used to go to the table without confessing.¹

On All Souls' Day, all the Portuguese of the Indies are wont to send, according to their means, bread, wine, and other viands, to the tombs of their deceased relatives and friends. During the service you see all these tombs covered with the victuals, but afterwards, when everyone is withdrawn, the priests or monks come and collect them, and they are obliged to pray God for the souls of the departed.

They fast on Christmas eve as here, and dine at noon; but before going to midnight mass, which begins at eleven o'clock at night, they have a very choice collation, fully equal to a supper, except that they partake neither of flesh

¹ This may be so; the custom is, however, still in use in Portugal, and seems to be the same as that of giving bronze "tokens" in the Scotch church.

nor fish ; but of everything else they eat and drink without stint. And chiefly the women, mistresses as well as serving-maids, look forward to this night, because when they all go to the mass they turn the devotional occasion to account for the enjoyment of their amours. All the streets are then hung with lanterns. On Christmas Day in all the churches are represented the mysteries of the Nativity, with divers characters and animals introduced speaking, as we have them here ; also marionettes and large rocks, and men within who make these figures act and speak as they will ; everyone goes to see it. Even in most of the houses and at the cross-streets they do the same ; it is a prettier sight at that season there, than at St. John's here. All along the streets, throughout the squares and wards, are tables laid with fine white napery, and covered with all manner of sugar-plums, dry comfits, marchpanes,¹ which they call *Rousquillos*², fashioned in a thousand ways ; whereof every one buys to give away in presents. It is like a fair, and lasts till after Twelfth Night. By night they go and affix large bills (*escriteaux*) inscribed with an *anobon*, that is to say "good new year", accompanying the same with instruments of music.

When Easter comes round, all Holy Thursday and Friday there are general processions, as in all countries of the King

¹ Fr. *massepain*. "Marchpanes are made of verie little flower, but with addition of greater quantitie of filberds, pinenuts, pistaces, almonds, and rosed sugar" (Markham's *Countrey Farme*, 1616, p. 585). See also a full recipe in that rare volume *Le Pâtissier François*, Amsterdam, Elzevir, 1655 ; also in *Delightes for Ladies*, 1668. They were made sometimes in the form of macaroons (which are still called *massepains* in France), and sometimes in large fantastical designs (as still common in Germany). At the marriage-feast of the Prince of Mantua, in 1581, were three large statues of marchpane, each four palms high, "l'une figurait le cheval du capitole, au naturel ; l'autre un Hercule avec le lion ; et l'autre une licorne plongeant sa corne dans la bouche du dragon" (V. Cervio, *Il Trinciante*, 1593, p. 48).

² Port. *Rosquilhos*, dim. of *rosca*. Linschoten gives the word for "bread baked like cracklings" (i, 198).

of Spain. Then, too, crowds of penitents of all qualities beat themselves, and go on their knees with their arms crossed. It were impossible to describe all the strange and superstitious ceremonies and forms observed of them. Some places then are, in the manner of hospitals, furnished with great store of vinegar, comfits, bread, wine, and other sorts of refreshments, with plenty white linen. The vinegar serves them to foment their bodies, the other things to refresh them with eating and drinking, and the linen to wipe and rub themselves withal.

All the churches have exceeding fine monuments. The interiors are richly ornamented and curtained: the pavement is scattered with herbs and flowers, with large branches with fair broad leaves on all sides. Most part of these are palm. The same is observed outside; and all around the churches, and even in the streets, which are exceeding clean, they erect quantities of herbs, and flowers, and branches. In the approaches to the said churches are great rows of palms set on either side. All this is done on the days of the great festivals of each church. They have also for the service of the church goodly companies of hautbois, cornets-à-bouquin, drums, violins, and other instruments. At the doors are sold all manner of cates, and quantities of trinkets and baubles. All their festivals begin at noon of the eve thereof and end at noon of the festival days; thereafter is more solemnity. All the streets and frequented places, and the churches where the festivals are held, are posted with pardons and indulgences.

All the new Christians, as well men as women, wear necklaces of wooden beads at the neck. The Portuguese and Metifs carry theirs in the hand, and in their conversation, business, and other actions, never fail to finger these paternoster beads. I know not what they say, but I have often seen them do the like while playing at dice. They have a custom, when the Holy Sacrament is elevated at the mass, that every one raises

his hand as though he would point to it, and cries with loud voice, twice or thrice, *Deos de Misericordia*, and strikes his breast. They use no consecrated bread as we do here. When their slaves, as well men as women, go to the mass they wear iron fetters at their feet, at least such as are suspected of a desire to escape.

In the matter of their marriages, a man never sees his mistress but at the church which she frequents, and he never speaks to her. She is gaily attired in the Portuguese mode, and covered with pearls and jewels. If she pleases him, he goes to her house on the morrow with a priest and the *fiancé*.¹ After that, he may go and see her, but not so as they be left together alone. Weddings are usually in the afternoon, and they go in grand solemnity to the church. The bridegroom is sometimes escorted by eighty or a hundred well caparisoned horses; and all the kindred and friends on both sides assist. The bride is accompanied in like manner with Palanquins, wherein are all her female relatives and friends. She is conducted by two of her nearest female relatives, and the bridegroom by two of his male relatives, up to the church, and the presence of the priest. These four are called *Comperes* and *Commeres*.¹ After espousal, they are reconducted home in like manner with a band of trumpets, cornets, and other instruments, playing from the church to the house, while the passers-by throw over the company much flowers, scented water, sugarplums, and comfits, these things being the perquisite of the servants who collect them. When they are arrived before the house the bridegroom and bride, along with the nearest male and female relatives and elders enter within, while the young

¹ *I.e.*, pledge; hence the verb *fiancer*; the noun is now rare and antiquated (see Sainte Palaye, *Dict. Hist. de l'Anc. Lang. Fr.*).

² In relation to the parents of the spouses, they are called *compadres* and *comadres*; to the spouses themselves they are *padrinhos* and *madrinhas* (Rivara).

men friends are bidden to remain without. These meanwhile amuse themselves with causing their horses to caracole, run and leap before the house, and throwing oranges, and darting canes and reeds at one another. The bridegroom, bride, and all the rest that have gone within appear at the window balconies, whence they look on at these pastimes. This done, they come down and enter a lower room, where are presented to them all manner of fruits and comfits, along with *Banguenin* water. The bridegroom then dismisses them with all politeness. Afterwards a banquet is served to all the relatives: this lasts not long, and all retire.

In their baptisms they use the like ceremony and solemnity as in their marriages. The priest plunges the child three times in the consecrated water. They have also a large silver-gilt dish full of *rosquillos*, or marchpanes, biscuits, macaroons, and other sweets, with a wax-taper stuck in the midst, and a gold piece attached.¹ All this is for the priest, except the dish.

When the feast-day of a monastery or convent comes round, they give a great banquet to a large party of their friends. The priests and vicars do the like on the feast-days of their churches.

All the Christians at Goa, as well Portuguese and Metifs, as rich Indians, when they go to church do so with vast pomp and ostentation, followed by their servants, pages, and armed retainers in array. They are borne in their Palanquins, but for all that omit not to have their horses led after them, while their pages carry sombreros, chairs or embroidered stools, and two velvet pillows, this is, when they are people of quality. They all wear swords at the side, and behind march all their servants and slaves, whereof the richest have as many as twenty or five and twenty. But they never go without their great beads in the hand:

¹ The coin, now a sixpence, has with us got inside the cake, and this perquisite is lost to the clergy.

and they have a cushion carried with them to kneel upon. In a word they proceed with the greatest pride in the world, and are so haughty that one of their servants must needs take the holy water in his hand to give thereof to his master or mistress; but this servant must be a man or a boy; for neither women nor girls approach or touch the holy-water vessel.

The rich ladies of quality go but seldom to church, save on the great feast-days, and then superbly attired in the Portuguese mode. Their gowns for the most part are of gold, silk, and silver brocade, enriched with pearls, gems, and jewels at the head, arms, hands, and waist. Over all they wear a veil of the finest crape in the world, reaching from the head to the feet. The gown and veil of girls are of all varieties of colour: those of the married women, black. They never wear stockings. Their gowns and petticoats trail upon the ground: their pattens, or *chapins*,¹ are open above, and cover only the soles of the feet; but they are all brodered with gold and silver, hammered in thin plates which reach over the lower surface of the *chapin*, the upper part being covered with pearls and gems, and the soles half a foot thick with cork. When they go to church they are borne in palanquins which are fitted up with the greatest possible richness; the interior contains a large Persian carpet, called by them *Alcatif*,² some of which would here cost five hundred crowns. Then they have two or three

¹ Ital. *cioppino*. These pattens were of Turkish or Eastern origin, and much used in Venice and Spain about this time. Also in England, but the affectation was much ridiculed:—"By'r Lady, your ladyship is nearer heaven than when I saw you last by the altitude of a chopine" (*Hamlet*, Act ii, sc. 2). Tom Coryate gives a description of these *chapineys* (similar to that above) as he saw them at Venice in 1611, and Evelyn found them still fashionable there in 1646. The Venetians also called them *calcagnetti*; see Molmenti, *Vie Privée à Venise*, 1882, p. 306; Fairholt, *Costume in England*, 3rd ed., ii, 72. Examples are to be seen in the British Museum.

² Sp. and Port. *alcatifa*, from the Ar. *al-qatifah*, a carpet (Dozy et Engelmann, *Glossaire*),

large pillows of velvet, or brocade of gold silver and silk, the one for the head, the other for the feet. They are followed, each according to her quality, by other palanquins conveying their children, and maids, or *Criadas*,¹ who are either Portuguese girls or Metices. Each palanquin usually holds but one person, and that is specially so in the case of a master or mistress, save when betimes they take in one of their children; but in the case of the others, they hold two persons. As for the female servants, and slaves, they go behind afoot, and sometimes there be fifteen or twenty of them richly attired in silk of all colours, with a large veil of fine crape over all, which they call *Mantes*;² but these are not habited in the Portuguese fashion, having large skirts of silk to serve them for petticoats. They also have smocks of exceeding fine silk, called by them *Bajus*.³ Amongst them you see some very pretty girls, of all the nations of India. Be it noted that the husbands send thither also their pages, with a well dressed man or two, Portuguese or Metifs, to escort them, and to hold their hands after they be got down from their palanquins: most often these ladies enter the church in their palanquins, such fear have they of being seen without. They wear no masks, but all are painted to an extent that is shameful. However, it is not the ladies that fear to be seen; it is the husbands that are in the highest degree jealous of them. One of these maid servants, or slaves, carries one of these rich carpets or *Alcatifs*, another carries two costly pillows, others a finely gilt chair of China wood, a velvet bag containing the book, handkerchief and other things whereof they have need, a pretty *estere*,⁴ or mat of fine fabric to put over the carpet, and a fan, together

¹ Port. *criada*, a woman, maidservant.

² Port. *manta*, a mantle.

³ Hind. *bāzū*, "a kind of short shirt reaching down to the hips, with very short (if any) sleeves; sometimes open at the upper part of the chest in front" (*Qanoon-e-Islam*, p. xv).

⁴ Port. *esteira*, a mat.

with other requisites. When these ladies enter the church, they are assisted by a man or two, who take their hands, for they cannot walk alone owing to the height of their pattens, which are frequently half a foot off the ground,¹ and are not made fast over the foot. One of these men takes in his hand some holy water, whereof she partakes, then she proceeds to her place forty or fifty paces off, taking at least a good quarter of an hour in getting there, so gravely and deliberately does she step: she carries in her hand beads of gold, pearls, and precious stones. Thus is their mode of progression according to their means, and not according to their quality. When they take their children with them, they make them walk in front. The maid servants and slaves are well enough pleased when their mistresses go not to mass, for then they go alone, and can at the same time meet their own gallants; and so they do full often, and never betray or accuse each other.

Such are the most singular and remarkable things observed by me at Goa: but I should never have finished, had I desired to particularise and tell in detail all I learnt in the two years or so during which I resided there. I content myself with having touched some subjects generally, leaving my readers to judge all the rest on that footing.

Concerning the divers descriptions of goods that are landed at the Goa, from all parts of the Indies, we shall speak in their own place, when we deal with the several countries whence they come.

¹ "There are many of these *chapineys* of a great height, even half a yard high; and by how much the nobler a woman is, by so much the higher are her *chapineys*. All their gentlewomen [at Venice] and most of their wives and widows that are of any wealth, are assisted and supported either by men or women when they walk abroad, to the end they may not fall" (T. Coryate, *Crudities*). "Elles sont si hautes, qu'en les portant, quelques-unes paraissaient des géantes; et même il y en a qui ne sont sûres de ne pas tomber, à moins de bien s'appuyer sur leurs esclaves" (Casola, *Voyage*).

So it is that a man who has been at Goa, can assure himself of having seen the greatest curiosities of the Indies, that town being the most famous and renowned for the traffic of all the Indian nations. For they carry thither all that their own country can produce, as well manufactures as produce, and other commodities, all which are to be found there in plenteous store. You will see arriving there more than a thousand vessels laden of all goods; wherefore are provisions exceeding cheap, more so, indeed, than any where else; what would cost fifty sols here, is worth no more than five there. Most of the provisions, fruits, and other delicacies, and commodities come from Dealcan. Sea fish is so abundant there that there is more than is wanted, although they eat more of it than of flesh. It forms nearly all their nourishment, and (be this also noted), cannot be kept more than four and twenty hours, on account of the heat of the climate, which incontinently spoils all their viands. All along the streets, and at the crossings, you see numbers of men and women frying and boiling fish for sale, which they serve with their sauces and seasonings.

However, I repeat that, having resided about two years and more at Goa among the Portuguese, I cannot tell or express all the affronts, insults, and ill-usage, that I suffered there. And in truth I may say without vanity that if during the time of my voyage I had any, even the smallest hope of returning to France, I should have been more curious to learn and remark all the fairest and strangest things in that country. But from the day of our wreck down to that whereon I landed at Rochelle, I never had one moment's hope of return: this was the reason that I took no trouble to acquire so much gear as I might have done. For there needs there but a small store to maintain a man, all things being at low prices. I have not, however, omitted to remark a good many things respecting their wealth and trade, inasmuch as I was in most parts of India, as well with the

Indians themselves as with the Portuguese, with whom I served both in the North and in the South in scouring and defending their coast, and in convoying their merchant vessels in their voyages to and fro. But I will say with confidence that if the Portuguese had believed that I had so much as a thought of recording anything about them, either of the navigation to the Indies, or other particulars of their government and trade, they would never have allowed me to return; but would either have put me to death, or sent me to exile, as they do their own malefactors and other foreigners. But I guarded myself well from giving them the slightest suspicion.

I was well forewarned by the example of others, as of an English ship's boat on the coast of Melinde, near the Zanzibar islands, which they took (as I shall describe hereafter)¹ finding a man on board with the lead in his hand, sounding and reconnoitering the coast: him they put cruelly to death in manner they are not wont to use to other foreigners; and though I confess that I have but little of a high spirit, yet did I lead them to believe I had much less, for fear of giving them a bad opinion of me. I even made them believe I could neither read nor write, and that I understood not their language; and in order to live among them, I had to obey them in all things. So if any of them wished me ill or did me a wrong, I strove by all means to make my peace with him, and to make friends with all. In such wise I passed about two years and a half² with them, not counting the time we occupied in returning from Goa to Portugal.

I may also say that the English that were at Goa, who were taken prisoners in the river and *bara* of *Surrate*, as I shall relate in the proper place,³ told us that the ship called

¹ See below, ch. xx. The English ship was the *Union*.

² In fact, only one year and a half, from his arrival at Goa in June 1608 to January 1610, or twenty months, dating from his capture outside Calicut.

³ See ch. xx.

the *Croissant*, our Admiral, on her return from Achen in Sumatra, had cast anchor at the island of St. Helena, and that then an English vessel,¹ coming from the Indies, arrived there laden with goods, but weak in men; and that those on board the *Croissant* had formed a design to surprise her, the English ship being in better condition, and not making so much water as the other, which was all open, and in such a state that she could not get as far as France, as I have heard. But their design having been discovered by a young gunner of the *Croissant*, that was an Englishman, the ship forthwith weighed her anchors during the night, and sailed with the gunner who gave them warning. This caused the English not to be friends with us, and to speak contemptuously of our nation: they are all exceeding proud, and not like the Hollanders.

I was also curious to inquire after our mate and our eleven other comrades, who escaped from the Maldivé Islands in a boat during our shipwreck there, as has been said above; but I could not discover aught, save that they were arrived at *Coylan*, a territory of the Portuguese, and that the mate was dead in the hospital of *Coylan*, along with some others, and the rest were taken prisoners to Goa, whereof some were shipped off on a return voyage to Portugal, and the others were gone here and there with the Portuguese armies, and no one knew what had become of them. When I was at Goa, arrived some men sent on behalf of the king of Calecut, to get back certain Mahometans, whom the Portuguese held prisoners, having taken them in some Arabian ships; on being claimed by the Samory, they were forthwith delivered into the hands of his envoys. As these men of Calecut were of my acquaintance, they told me with full particu-

³ This was probably the *Susan*, of Lancaster's fleet, under command of Henry Middleton, who returned to England, June 1603, two months before Lancaster. The *Croissant*, as Martin tells us, was at St. Helena in March 1603.

larity, all that had passed at Calecut since our seizure, and how the king was at once informed of it, and his great wrath on that score against the Portuguese, who made every kind of excuse, casting all the blame on the captain that had seized us, who afterwards came to no good, as I have related at length already.

I saw also arrive there a barque of the Islands of *Divandurou*,¹ fully laden with cordage of the coco-tree; they call these cords *Cayro*: the mate of the barque spoke the language of the Maldives, and I had seen him at Malé island, so that we knew each other well, and were vastly pleased both of us to meet again. I had often seen him at the house of a great captain of the Malabars named *Cousty Hamede*, his relative, at the town of *Badara*.

He it was who then told me all the news that had passed at the Maldives since my departure, after the great disaster, and the death of the king at the same time, and how a new king had been established, and the country was very peaceful, all of which I have related above in its own place.

But before I finish this chapter, I do not wish to omit what I learnt at Goa of the Hollander named *Martin d'Ombes*,² who was wrecked at the Maldives while I was there, and whom we met in the prison of Cochin, as has been told above; for he then told us with some particularity all that befel him; namely, that when the king of the Maldives gave him this barque, whereof I have spoken, he saved property worth more than nine or ten thousand crowns in gold, silver, pearls, precious stones, and other costly and precious goods, wherewith he betook himself to *Caelle*,³ a place near Cape Comorin, where is held the greatest fishery of pearls on all

¹ The Laccadives, v. s. vol. i, p. 323.

² Martin Domburgh, see vol. i, pp. 392-3, 430.

³ Kāyal, six miles south of Tuticorin; "a great and noble city" (*Cail*), says Marco Polo, Bk. iii, ch. 21, see Yule, *Gloss.*, s. v. "Cael". Barbosa (*Hak. Soc.* ed., p. 173) says it was the headquarters of the pearl fishery, but subject to the King of Kollam (*Quilon*).

that coast. There he sought a Jesuit Father, that had his ordinary quarters there, who by fine words and promises of safety, persuaded him to go direct to Cochin, and gave him a letter of recommendation, that so no trouble should befall him : but as his ill-luck would have it, no sooner was he arrived there than he was lodged in that great prison where we were cast, and there he had remained two whole years in dire misery : that during this time there, the Jesuit Fathers had converted him and made him a Catholic, with promises of delivering him incontinently after his conversion : that being advised of the wealth that he still had in his possession, they gave him to understand that he might entrust that to them in all security, to keep for him, giving him thereout as often and as much as he would, and that meanwhile they would give him interest and a handsome income for his maintenance, in such wise that they contrived to get out of his hands all that he had managed to save : they supplied him every day with the means of living, but not of living so well as he would have wished. Meanwhile he insisted upon his demand, that since he had become Catholic, they should set him free, as they had promised ; this, however, they had not done. So much we learnt from his own mouth. But after we were separated, I learnt of some Christian and Gentile Indians of Goa, that they had at length taken this poor man from prison, and had shipped him for Goa with irons on his feet, and that as he had demanded of the Jesuit Fathers the restitution of all he had placed in their hands, they had replied thereto that that was reasonable enough ; but for greater safety they would charge themselves to pay the whole at Goa, by means of a letter of exchange which they gave him addressed to the Father Superior of their order ; but as the worst ill-fortune would have it for this poor wretch, as soon as he left for Goa, he became suddenly swollen as large as a cask, and at length died between Cochin and Goa. It was not known what had befallen him ;

but the Indians who told me the story, held it for a certainty that he was poisoned. However that may be, such was the unfortunate end of this poor Hollander, which shows how few escape these long voyages, and amid how many divers and contrary accidents they fare, and that it is a special grace of God when they return safe and sound, as I have. But I will now come to more singular and remarkable matters, concerning as well the country of Goa, and its surroundings, as the Portuguese and other inhabitants there, which I shall relate in the following chapters.

CHAPTER VII.

Of the Exercises and Games of the Portuguese, Metifs, and other Christians at Goa, their dress and manner of living, and of their wives.

THE exercises of the Portuguese, as well at Goa as at other places in the Indies, consist in the first place in the use of arms and riding, and in making, on Sundays and holidays, a thousand passades and careers on their horses, during which they throw oranges, canes, and reeds, all being equipped and arrayed in their best. No feast day passes, but they have some amusement to which all the people go, ranging themselves in procession. All the ceremonies and solemnities of the feast become there like fairs, with banquets and music of all sorts of instruments; thus do they mingle their pleasures with their devotions. They delight much in going on the river in their Manchoües, built in the form of Galiots, where they are under cover with music, in these they go from the town to places belonging to them or their friends; these places are pleasure houses with gardens and orchards, which they call *hortas*, containing groves of coco-trees, called by them *Palmeiro*, there also are many

reservoirs and streams of clear and fresh water, wherein they bathe, and taking their collations and other refreshment in the shade.

As for cards, dice, and other games of chance, they are allowed there, and certain houses are set apart for the purpose, the keepers of which pay a rent to the king, and none durst play elsewhere under pain of a heavy fine. The keepers of these gaming academies and offices make very great profits: for the number of players ordinarily assembled there is quite wonderful, and most of them drink, eat, and sleep there, taking no other exercise. The accommodation is excellent in all respects, the saloons and rooms are very handsome, well lighted and gaily hung, and servants are always at hand to serve them with what they require. I have never seen elsewhere gamesters more freehanded and magnanimous: for the winners give of their money freely to the onlookers, that is, those who act as umpires, and who are willing to take it. This act of gentility is called *Barbo*.¹ Nor is it any shame to receive it, for it is considered more in the light of an honourable present than as alms. They sometimes give large gold pieces; and full often when I had no money, I used to go and see them play, and they were more careful to give to me than even to their Portuguese fellows or Metifs. Most of the soldiers that have no money go there frequently. They give much also to the servants of the house who wait upon them; but the servants' masters exact a certain tribute thereout.

During the play some girls, the servants and slaves of the master and mistress of the house, play instruments, and sing airs to give pleasure to the company, and mark you, these are the prettiest girls they can find. The play is fair and

¹ A misprint for *barato*, which is thus explained by D. Vieira; "a fourth part of his winnings, paid by a player to the keeper of a gambling house, also a portion given by players to onlookers who decide questions in their favour" (*Dict. Port.*).

without quarrelling, by reason of the regulations and order that are maintained there ; and though one were the greatest lord in the world, he can only play in these public places : yet there are separate rooms there according to the quality of persons. At this gaming is a vast amount of money spent. Among other games they play much at chess and draughts, and at all sorts of games on the chess-board. They have no tennis, but play only at hand-ball ; also they indulge much in skittles and bowls. They have also companies of conjurers, mountebanks, and buffoons for their pastime ; and shows of snakes and other rare animals. Every one there, as well men as women, learns to sing and play upon instruments, but they do not engage in dancing.

As regards their manner of life at home, all, whether men or women, girls or boys, on arriving at their homes, forthwith cast off their nether garments. The men go about in their shirts and drawers,¹ which reach down to the heels, and are extremely white and fine : then they take off their hats, and don a *montaire* or *galetaire*,² as they call it, which is of velvet or taffetas, and in the form of a hat, but with a brim on one side only. The women take their ease in their smocks or *Bajus*, which are more transparent and fine than the most delicate crape of these parts ; so that their skin shows beneath as clearly as if they had nothing on ; more than that, they expose the bosom to such an extent that one can see quite down to the waist.

They wear nothing on the head but the hair plaited and tied up. From the waist downwards they wear a very handsome cotton or silk cloth ; but not so transparent or so fine

¹ *I.e.*, pyjamas, or "long drawers", as the English sometimes called them (see Yule, *Gloss.*, under both words).

² Port. *monteira*, *gualteira*, caps of velvet or other soft stuff, the generic being *carapuça*, under which name Mocquet describes the thing. He says they were made more or less in the form of morions, with a vizor, and were thus used for nocturnal brawls and robberies at Goa (p. 309).

as the smock; for one can see nothing through it, it is like our taffetas. Most of the men, when minded to marry, are not content with seeing the girls, that are proposed to be given to them, in their holiday or parade dress, that having too much artifice. They prefer to see them going to market, or at home in their private attire, such as I have described, in order to form an opinion of them in their natural simplicity, and to see whether they be well proportioned or mis-shapen. Also at that juncture they do not wish to see them painted, as they are when they go abroad in their finery.

The diversion of the women is to sing and play instruments all the day long; sometimes they visit each other, but seldom enough; day and night they also use betel like the Indians.¹ Their husbands are very jealous, but they are so amorous and so addicted to fleshly pleasures, that when they find the smallest opportunity, they fail not to use it. Nor lack they both opportunities and gallants, being not only fair but rich, and of their abundance they give to the soldiers their gallants. And what gives them the greater assurance is that maid servants and slaves are well enough pleased to serve their mistress, and to win for them some pretty fellow, as I have mentioned elsewhere. But the husbands keep a careful watch over them, and when their wives go a visiting, they send with them some page or other trusted person to observe their actions. For all that, the women are so cunning and full of artifice, that they almost always succeed in their intrigues.

All the women of the Indies make much use of a certain fruit, like a large medlar, that grows not upon a tree, but upon a shrub, and is all green, round and prickly on the outside, and full of little seeds within. It is found nearly everywhere in the Indies, and among other places in large

¹ Rivara says the Portuguese ladies of Goa no longer chew betel, but are fond of smoking.

quantities at the Maldives, where it is called *Moet ol*, that is to say, "Madman's herb." In other parts of the Indies it is called *Dutroa*.¹ When the women wish to enjoy their amours in all security, they make a drink for their husbands of this fruit infused in their beverages or in soup. An hour afterwards they become giddy and insensible, singing, laughing, and performing a thousand antics, for then they have lost all consciousness and judgment, and know neither what they are doing, nor what is being done in their presence. Then do the wives make use of their time, admitting whom they will, and taking their pleasure in the presence of their husbands, who are aware of nothing. The effect lasts five or six hours, more or less, according to the quantity of the dose. Then they fall asleep, and at their waking believe they have been asleep all the while, without remembering aught of what they have done, heard, or seen.

Also when the men want to enjoy a girl or woman, and cannot attain their end, they get them to take some of the same stuff, and when they are in this folly, they do unto them as they will, without the women being aware of it afterwards. While I was in that country, many were found to have become pregnant without knowing whence this had happened to them. But were one to take a large dose of this fruit, he would infallibly die of it. When the soldiers and others cannot obtain possession of a woman, they tamper with their maid-servants, who sell and betray their mistresses for money in this manner, by giving them to drink of this

¹ *Datura Stramonium*, Skt. *dhattūra*. The uses to which this intoxicant was put at Goa are described in much the same way by Linschoten (i, 210; ii, 68-72); by Mocquet (p. 312); by Sir T. Herbert (p. 337), etc. De Orta gives an anecdote of its use for thieving purposes (f. 83), and Fryer (p. 33) says it was given to widows when they were about to perform suttee. Pyrard's and Linschoten's form, *dutroa*, came into English as *dutry* (*Fryer*), and Col. Yule (*Gloss.*) quotes "Make lechers and their punks with dewtry Commit fantastical advowtry" (*Hudibras*, pt. iii, c. 1).

herb. True it is that the slaves are so maltreated by their masters and mistresses, who lord it over them cruelly, that it is nothing strange that they should have their revenge. One day at Goa, I saw one aged eighteen or nineteen years, that cast himself into a well and was killed, to escape the fury of his master, who was running after him to chastise him.

But though the women at Goa are exceeding lewd, and though the climate and the diet of the country inclines them thereto, nevertheless neither there, nor in the other towns of the Portuguese, is there any public brothel, nor is any allowed to be kept, as in Italy. They conceal their sin as much as they can, though there is no more lack of it there than in many other places.

The Portuguese, Metices, and Indian women and girls bathe and wash the private parts daily, as also do the other Indian women that are not Christians.

One of the recreations of the Portuguese at Goa, is to assemble at their doors with five or six neighbours, and there to sit in the shade chatting, all in their shirts and drawers, with a number of slaves about them, some fanning and keeping off the flies, others scratching their feet and other parts of the body, and removing parasites. Thus do most of them pass their time, courteously saluting the passers-by, and glad enough when they will tarry to have a chat with them, and accept the proffered seat.

When they take their food, and at their lying down and rising up, they have all their slaves, as well girls as boys, to play music for their pleasure; also while they eat they have some slaves to fan them, and to keep off the flies from the victuals, otherwise it would be difficult to avoid swallowing some of these flies, whereof there is great abundance throughout all the Indies.

The most ordinary pastime of the women is to remain all day long at the windows, which they call *Ventanes*.¹

¹ Port. *ventana*, a window.

these are exceedingly handsome, lofty, and spacious, in the form of galleries and balconies, with jalousies and trellises gaily painted ; so that they can see without being seen.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the Portuguese Soldiers at Goa, their manner of life and taking Ship. Divers Expeditions, and the order observed by them in War.

Regarding their manner of war and soldiers, you must know that from the beginning, the Portuguese have had continual war with the Malabars, who are the pirates of the Indian seas, also with other Indian kings and peoples, for example those of Arabia, the kings of Sumatra, Java, Jor, which is on the terra-firma of Malacca, and other islands of Sunda, and of the coasts and continent of all the Indies. And now that the English, Hollanders, and other foreigners have taken the course of Indian navigation, this has brought a new war upon their hands, a war that has reduced them sadly, and is like to ruin them, insomuch that they have been constrained to reinforce their naval armies. For all their war is on sea and not on land, whereof they hold none. Sometimes, however, they have a war with some individual kings of the continent, who have broken the peace and the treaties mutually agreed upon. In such case they put armies in the field, and calling out their levies from the towns and fortresses. But for their armies on sea they have perpetual employment, two being armed and equipped every year, as I have said.

For the protection of all the coast of India, from Goa to Cambaye, and sometimes as far as Ormus on the one side, and Cape Comorin on the other, to prevent the raids of the

Malabar pirates, they equip two armadas¹ at Goa, one of which, called *Armada del Nort*, goes as far as Ormus; the other, *Armada del Sud*, goes as far as Comorin. Each is composed of fifty or sixty war galiots, without counting those of *Chetie*, or merchantmen, and including one or two grand galleys like those of Spain. These armadas depart in the month of October, at the beginning of their summer, which lasts six months more or less, and that is the time when the Malabar corsairs are afloat. These galleys are rowed by prisoners and convicts, and the same order is observed as here. The galiots² have fifteen to twenty benches on each side, and there is but one man to each oar, these, however, are not convicts or prisoners, but Canarins, natives of Goa, Bardes, and Salsetes, or else Colombins, who are the most vile drudges of people, engaged at an agreed hire. They call these *Lascary*, and their captain *Moncadon*,³ the galiot *Navie*,⁴ and those of the Malabars, *Pairaux*.⁵

Besides these two regular armadas, others go to Malaca, to Sunda, to Mozambique, and other places where they are required, or some project is afoot; but these armadas are composed of round vessels like the galions, hulks, and ships of India, with some one large galiot. These go with succours and reinforcement to their several possessions, such as the Island of Ceilan, Malaca, Mozambique, and other places where they are making a war or are attacked.

All these armadas are at the expense of the king of Spain.

¹ See vol. i, pp. 438-9, where he has already said all this.

² The galiot was a smaller galley with but one mast. In Europe it had ordinarily three men to each oar (Fournier, *Hydrographie*; Pantera, *Arm. Nav.*, p. 48). Probably convicts and prisoners were used exclusively for the galleys, owing to the intolerable and incessant labour involved.

³ Port. *mocadão*, from the Ar. *mulkaddam*, a head man, ganger, or boatswain (see Yule, *Gloss.*, s. v., "mocuddum"). According to Linschoten (i, 267), he was a contractor for native hands, and received their wages in a lump.

⁴ Probably represents the Mahr. and Hind. *nāo* or *nāw*, "a boat".

⁵ See vol. i, p. 345.

Other galiots, too, and ships come forth from the several Portuguese ports and havens, and join themselves to the fleet. The vessels are well armed, for in sweeping the coast, they go in to anchor at all the ports of their friends and allies, both for the purpose of taking along with them such as care to follow them, and such as are ordered to do so, and also for the refreshment of the fleet and for trade. With these armies go also a great number of trading ships and galiots, called *Navies de Chatie*, to distinguish them from the others, which are called *Navies d'Armade*. For their traffick-ing and commerce, these merchantmen await the convoy of the Armadas, for fear of the pirates, who render it impos-sible for them to sail alone. Most of the soldiers even, such as have the wherewithal, omit not the trade on their own account, while making voyages in the king's service. This is permitted to them, nay it is even necessary on account of the scantiness of their booty and pay. The ships of war are equipped at the expense of the king, but the Chaties are at the expense of their owners who freight them; nevertheless they must be subject and obedient in all things to the General of the Armadas, who is called *Capitaine Major*.

In the great galleys there may be two or three hundred men-at-arms, and in the other great galiots, which are called *Fregates*, about one hundred; in the smaller, which are the *navires*,¹ about forty or fifty. There are some still smaller, called *Manchoües*, containing perhaps fifteen or twenty men. As for the round ships,² their number of men is according to their size.

Concerning the order and manner of their embarkments: when they would make a shipment of men at Lisbon for the Indies, they make a levy of soldiers from all Portugal,

¹ Probably a misprint for *navies*, as above.

² That is, sailing ships proper, such as carracks, galions, and caravels. Long ships were for oars principally, with auxiliary sails, such as galleys, galiots, fustas, brigantines, etc. (see *Jal, Gloss. Naut.*, under these heads).

by towns and parishes, as is done here of pioneers, and all sorts of people are taken, of whatever quality and condition they be, provided they have attained the age of nine to ten years.¹ Then they are enrolled, and are paid and rated for soldiers. If they cannot find any that will go of their own accord, they take them by force, and of any age, and enroll them in the *Caza da India Oriental*, which is the India Office ordinarily held in Lisbon; they have to give security up to the time of their embarking. The whole of their pay for the voyage is advanced to them, because most of them are children of poor peasants, and have need of habiliments and arms: their pay is according to their quality. Their manner of counting is by *Raïso*, as in Castille by *Maravedis*, which is a certain coin worth a farthing and a half of our money; and they say so many thousand *Raïso*.²

Among the soldiers enrolled there are some dignities and qualities more honourable than others, some of birth and extraction, others of service and valour, or granted by favour. And they are paid accordingly, some more, some less. They are paid at Lisbon for the whole passage to the Indies, and not by the month, and they have not to provide any provisions for their private use, the king furnishing all whereof they have need in the way of victuals, refreshment, and munition of war. These titles and qualities are acquired by them in Portugal, yet does the viceroy fail not to grant the like

¹ "Five carracks sailed on the $\frac{1}{2}$ instant for the E. I., laden with merchandise, and carrying, in place of soldiers, children and youths from the age of ten upwards, to the number of 1500; in a few years they say these children will be able to do good service, their bodies being well acquainted with the climate of those countries; think it were an evil course to follow in England for planting inhabitants in Virginia; it is forced by necessity in Lisbon. If the peace with Holland take not effect, the Portugals may lose their Indies before the children are able to do any service."—Letter from Lisbon dated March $\frac{1}{2}$, 1609, in *Cal. S. Pap.*, E. I., No. 432.

² *I.e.*, milreis. The *ree* or *rea* was retained in Bombay accounts as $\frac{1}{400}$ of a rupee down to 1834 (see also Yule, *Gloss.* s. v.).

to a certain number that merit it or that he desires to favour in the Indies. A noble by birth is called *Fidalguo* simply. Others are called *Fidalguo de la Casa del Rey nosso Señor*, or "gentlemen of the king's household": these are the most esteemed of them, and most of the appointments are honourable. Others are *Mosso Fidalguo*, that is to say, ennobled by the king or great lords by favour; others, *Cavalleyro Fidalguo*, or "Chevalier nobles": others, *Mosso da Camera and do Servizio*, or "gentlemen in waiting": others, *Escuideri Fidalguo*, or "gentlemen esquires".¹ Those that have no title or dignity are called solely and simply *Soldado*. They take these dignities rather than others, because these entitle them to have their expenses charged and orders obeyed, and also to be rated higher. Besides these titles they have another, that of *Honrado*, or "honourable", which they all like to have among themselves. The most that a soldier can have, even the chiefest of them, for the passage from Lisbon to Goa, is fifty or sixty crusados.

When these soldiers are embarked in the carracks they are divided up into squads or companies to keep the watch or guard, which is changed at night and not at daybreak.

And although these enrolled soldiers have no titles or dignities, yet do they not omit to assume honour among themselves, calling themselves all "gentlemen", though they be of low condition:² nor have the nobles any jealousy of this, seeing that this is understood among themselves but not by the Indians, nor does it a whit diminish the nobility of the others, lists of whom are every year sent out from

¹ This description of the titles of Portuguese soldiers is almost identical with Linschoten's (i, 188-9).

² They assumed titles in order to deceive the secretaries at Goa:—"Des qu'ils sont là, pour vils et abjets qu'ils soient, ils s'estiment tous fidalques et nobles, changeans leurs noms obscurs à des noms plus illustres; comme je sceus là d'un certain qui s'envoloit pour la guerre, et avoit changé de nom trois ou quatre fois, comme il fut reconnu par les secretaires et écrivains de Goa" (Mocquet, *Voy.*, 305).

Lisbon to the Viceroy of Goa. These titles which are used among themselves, are only to make the Indians believe that they are all of goodly and illustrious parentage, having no race of vile churls among them. Wherefore they will not that any Portuguese or other (European) should do any vile or dishonourable work, nor should beg his livelihood, they will rather maintain him to the best of their power. Inso-much that the greatest of them treat the lowliest with honour, and they infinitely prize the title, "Portuguese of Portugal," calling such an one *homo blanco*, or "white man." All the poor Indians they despise, as though they would trample them under their feet. So these Indians were all amazed when we told them that these fellows were sons of porters, cobblers, drawers of water, and other vile craftsmen.¹

According to their titles, qualities, and merit, they have their rewards after having served seven years. Those honours and titles, given by the soldiers to each other, are not used until they have passed the Cape of Good Hope, for then they abandon almost all their former manners and customs, and throw their spoons into the sea.²

When they are arrived in the Indies at any place belonging to the Portuguese, they are free to go wheresoever they

¹ Mocquet gives an amusing account of a swineherd, Fernando, who having dubbed himself Don, and riding through the streets of Goa on a fine horse and in sumptuous attire (at the expense of some half-caste woman), was suddenly met by the son of his old master in Portugal, who cried, "Good heavens, Fernando, how are you?" The Don at first denied, and then confessed his identity, begging the other not to divulge his secret.

² For the Portuguese to round the Cape was to drink of Lethe. Sir W. Scott furnishes a parallel passage:—"If you want rogues, as they are so much in fashion with you, you have that gallant cast of adventurers who laid down their consciences at the Cape of Good Hope, and forgot to take them up again when they returned" (Preface to *The Surgeon's Daughter*). The throwing overboard of the spoons is in reference to the fact that they used no spoons in India: "There they ate nothing with spoons, and if they should see any man doe so, they would laugh at him" (*Linschoten*, i, 207; see also *Della Valle*, iv, 301).

will, without being obliged to any one, and they are not even constrained to go to war, save on extraordinary occasions, on the other hand they are not paid nor rated.¹ Only they go to eat and drink at the houses of those four great lords who give food to all soldiers in the winter, they can also go for meat and drink to all the monasteries at all seasons; for at the houses of the said lords, food is given only in winter, when the soldiers are on shore, and the armadas are returned home. They like better to be fed than to receive money; for being addicted to play, they would gamble all incontinently. As for the money that is advanced to them for their voyage, they durst not fail to buy out of that whatever is necessary for the voyage, under pain of punishment. The two armadas of the North and the South get an advance of two quarters' pay, which amounts in all to thirty-six *perdos*.² The other armadas that go further off get an advance of three-quarters. If they are more time on the voyage, they are paid for it, and on their return get another quarter's pay. The viceroy also betimes gives them something extra, when he wishes to gratify the soldiers. The number of the soldiers is never published, although it is known by the rolls: for they will not that the Indians should know their numbers, as I have already said. The other inhabitants, and the native Indian soldiers, who are Christians, are numbered, but not the *Metifs*, who are as the Portuguese.

Although the great majority of these soldiers are sent out, some impressed, and others volunteers, yet when they are in the Indies all are free to remain or to return to Portugal.

¹ So great were the disorders at Goa, owing to the presence of an idle soldiery, that the government were constrained to induce them to take up their quarters at the other towns, Chaul, Daman, Diu, etc., by allowances of ten *pardãos* and their victuals during the monsoon months (*Boullaye-le-Gouz, Voy.*, p. 198).

² Some thirty years later the pay of a soldier for a six months' voyage had fallen to ten *pardos* (*Boullaye-le-Gouz*).

They must, however, have their leave and passport of the viceroy, which indeed they obtain with some difficulty except they have some interest, or can show a legitimate cause. But the real cause why so few came back is that on the return voyage the king provides them with water only, while it costs one at least three hundred perdos to get back to Portugal.¹

When they are newly arrived in the Indies, they are called *Raignolles*,² that is to say, "men of the kingdom," and the older hands mock them until they have made one or two voyages with them, and have learned the manners and customs of the Indies: this name sticks to them until the fleet arrives the year following. When they are met in the street, and are recognised for *Raignolles*, the little children and shop boys cry after them. The Indian merchants are glad enough to see them, for they are easier to take in.

If the soldiers from Portugal look forward to get a reward or benefaction from the king, they must serve him there for seven years, without counting the year of their going out; the *Metifs*, or Indian-born, serve for eight years. Nor is it enough for them only to remain there: they must embark in all the warlike expeditions that present themselves; for which they receive good certificates, called *Certidous*,³ from the

¹ So Linschoten (ii, 229), who adds that they were not allowed a passage home until they had served three years in India.

² Port. *reinol*, pl. *reinoes*, "of the kingdom" (i.e., Portugal). At this time the word had exactly the same meaning as our Anglo-Indian "griffin", and our colonial "new-chum" (see Linschoten, i, 208; Mocquet, 304). Pyrard says above (p. 121) that the Portuguese called themselves "Portuguese of Portugal", probably owing to the derogatory meaning of *reinol*. Later, however, as Portuguese blood became more and more mixed, this word became a term of pride. A century later we find A. Hamilton speaking of the pride of "the Reynolds (*sic*) or European fidalgos" (*New Acct.*, i, 251). So in the present century (see above, p. 38, *note*). The author's remark, that it took a year for a *reinol* to wipe out the stain, reminds one that it takes the same time at an English public school for a "new fellow" to work out the penalties of his condition.

³ Port. *certidão*.

viceroy and the captains, who forget not to enter in their certificates all their good service rendered, that so they get their recompense accordingly. If they cannot show that, they receive nothing. If they wish to be recompensed, they must return to Portugal, at the end of the said period, otherwise their service is lost : and sometimes for want of means many cannot go and so lose all, for they must be there in person. But if they die on the way or in the Indies, their wives and children, or other next heirs, can present these certificates, just as they themselves might. Those who return before the fixed time get no reward, no more than those who, being in India, do no service there.

A vast number of the soldiers are sent to the Indies in exile for their misdeeds : these durst not return before their time has expired. They are sent to Ceilan, Mozambique, Malaca, and other places to garrison them : these get only their pay without hope of other reward ; most of them marry and remain there all their lives.¹

Concerning the little boys, that are shipped and paid as soldiers at Lisbon, when these arrive in the Indies they are not rated as soldiers, unless they are sufficiently strong to bear all sorts of arms ; but they fail not to find places : for the lords, captains and gentlemen, take them for pages, although they are of low birth. They do no menial service for their master and mistress, except attending them abroad, they are most sumptuously habited in their master's livery. Ten or fifteen of them may be seen following one of these lords, and they mingle not, nor associate with the slaves. When they are grown and able to bear arms, their master gives them some money to buy arms and clothes, and then they join the expeditions with the others, and their seven

¹ The use of India as a Botany Bay is above referred to as one of its chief advantages to Portugal (p. 88). In times of peril a free pardon was given to these exiles on condition of service with the armies, as on the occasion of the Siege of Kunhâli (*Arch. Port. Or. Fasc.*, vi, No. 899).

years commence from the time when they cease to be pages ; so they follow the profession of arms.

These soldiers are all free, and there is none can command them but the viceroy, except when they are enrolled, shipped, and are receiving their pay for going to a war. For then the captains and generals of the armadas command them during that voyage only. All the unmarried, who have made profession of arms, can call themselves soldiers ; saving of course the clergy, who wear not the sword. This word—soldier—then, includes all the unmarried : they are prohibited from wearing mantles, to distinguish them from the married men who wear them. The married men cannot be compelled to go to the wars, and when they desire to go, it is a great dishonour to them on account of their wives they leave behind. For great respect is there paid to a married man, whom they call *Casado*. The soldiers like not to see married men shipped along with them, being apprehensive, lest they should inadvertently, and without intending any offence, address to them some indecent language, such as they use among themselves. A married man would be gravely insulted by such words. Nevertheless necessity sometimes requires them to go ; but they must wear their mantles, so as to be recognised.

As to the number of these soldiers, Portuguese and Metifs, I have seen in Goa alone more than four or five thousand, besides the Indian soldiers who are innumerable. These cannot hold themselves on a par with the Portuguese, nor eat with them, although they be Christians, and although their men and women can intermarry with theirs. So that the soldiers, to keep their estates, offices, and honours, both in the town of Goa, and in other possessions of the Portuguese, must be married, or enrolled as soldiers and in the pay of the king.

The order of their embarking for the wars is as follows. Over every fleet, whether ordinary and extraordinary, the

viceroy and his council appoint a general and also captains, fixing the number of vessels, and causing to be delivered to the said general and captains money for all the expenses. Next, drums are beat and criers go through the town to warn all that will to enroll themselves at such and such a place. The captains are curious to choose the honest men and best soldiers, and give them gratifications and honours to induce them to come with them. For there soldiers, being bound to none, go and ship themselves with whom they will, and are under obedience to them only for the voyage: they are paid by the quarter, and in advance. All those in command are appointed by the viceroy and most often by favour, and they are the best rewarded, receiving more pay and more booty. For instance, those in charge of the victualling, the munitions, and other expenditure, all get their profit, each in his office which he wins according to the strength of his interest. It is a great honour and favour to be general, even to be captain of a vessel, for he commands a large body of honourable soldiers who on land are as good or better than themselves. The *Viador de Hacienda*, or Superintendent of the Finances, pays the soldiers. The generals and captains have the duty of engaging and paying the expenses of the crew, the mariners, etc., and providing for their advances in money.

For the rest the money advanced to the soldiers against their embarkation is only to provide them with clothes, arms and other commodities. As for provisions, they have to take no thought on that score, being well fed at the expense of the king on board ship, and according to the produce of the places visited. When they are at sea they take the ordinary ship's victual, that is to say, rice with butter, sugar, lentils, and *mangas*.¹ This is a fruit of the form of an olive, but much larger, they have other sorts of them which they

¹ The mango: from the Tam. mān-kāy (see Yule, *Gloss.*). In North India and Ceylon it is called *ām* and *āmba*, from the Skt. *amra*.

salt. Frequently, too, they have biscuit, and the drink is water only. They eat also a salted fish named *pesche cavalo*,¹ along with rice. But when they are at anchor in some port, as they frequently are, they get all kinds of victuals that are procurable at the several places, at the expense of the king. Those who go on shore and care to live there, do so at their own expense. On board, each soldier has his own dish and eats by himself. The captain holds all his soldiers in great respect and honour: they are treated vastly different from our soldiers here. For there, the title of soldier is the most honourable that one can have, and none is so rich or of such quality, as to be disgraced in giving his daughter in marriage to a soldier.

When a soldier has once received his pay, and the quarter for embarking, and afterwards tries to hide so as not to go, if he is apprehended, he is corporally punished and sent to prison. In these vessels there are two kitchens, namely, one for the captain and soldiers, and one for the mariners and sailors. In every vessel there are three or four Portuguese pages, rated and fed like the soldiers: they serve only the captain, lieutenant, and soldiers, and such clergy as are with them, whether Jesuits or of other orders: for there is no vessel without these clergy on board. Most nevertheless have their private slaves and valets; and these pages only attend them when they take their meals in the ship. Some of the soldiers are of fine appearance and quality, yet are much the same as the soldiers of our regiments, all being infantry armed with arquebuse, pike, spear, little China bucklers, bows and arrows. They use corselets but little, while they value highly those collars of buffalo hide, and laced jerkins, which are solely for sword cuts, and for arrows shot from afar. They make use also of burgonets and iron helmets. On land they wear sailor's breeches, which require ten ells of stuff, and are exceeding ample and wide below,

¹ See vol. i, pp. 388, 427.

and reach to the ground ; with these they wear no stockings, and it is impossible that they could run in such breeches. But when they are on board, they wear them of another style, which they call *à la Française*, as about thirty years ago such like were worn in France. These are very short and tight, and with them they wear no stockings or shoes, for they say that shoes would deprive them of a firm footing on the vessel, whether in the rigging or on the deck. At night they have tents of palm leaves made expressly for the purpose of protecting them from the rain. They have also mats and mattresses for sleeping upon, and carpets of Persia, or of Cambaye, which are smaller. In the morning they fold and wrap these up and lay them aside. On board ship there is so little room that when you lie down you can hardly stretch yourself at full length.

Having spoken of their embarkations and manner of living at sea, I will now say a word of their conduct when they are in the towns, and principally at Goa. On returning from their voyages they reside in what towns they please, as also may those who have not taken part in the voyage. Some take a notion to live in one sort, others in another ; but most of them keep company with girls and women, whom they call *solteras*,¹ that is licentious and unmarried women, living with them quite openly, as if they were married. These girls or widows deem themselves highly honoured when a white man, meaning one from Europe, courts their society. They will entertain and feed him as best they can, and wash his linen when need be. On the other hand the soldiers, or *amigos*, as they are called, maintain and support these women in all things, and are as jealous of them as if they were their proper wives, and will readily attack and slay one another in duels on their account. But it is a great misfortune for a soldier or other Portuguese or foreigner to have intercourse with

¹ *Solteira*, a spinster ; then, as he says (but not now), used in the above derogatory sense.

these immodest Metices, or Indian girls, for one sees but few men come out of it without peril. For if they know that a man is paying his addresses to other women or girls, or is meaning to marry, or to quit them on any other ground whatever, infallibly they will poison him with a certain drug, which can keep him alive for six months, but at length will kill him,¹ wherefore a man must use great cunning and dissimulation in quitting them. For the rest, the children of these unions are not held for bastards, but inherit both from the father and the mother, if neither the one nor the other is married.

Fifteen days before we left Goa, a master's mate of one of the three carracks which left before us, named Manuel Fernando, went to visit the mistress of a soldier. The latter arriving at the same time gave him a swordcut in the neck, and leaving him for dead, took refuge in a church. But the woman and her maid-servant budged not, whereupon the magistrate coming up, in no wise punished the women nor him that had fled. The wounded man was carried to the hospital, and on his recovery seeing that his vessel, wherein all his goods were already shipped, had gone, he was constrained to come in ours. He bought a passage accordingly, without a word said. In short, those women are exceeding fond of the men of these parts. As for the soldiers who cohabit with them, they fail not to embark when called on, like the rest.

The others who do not ordinarily live with such-like women, club together nine or ten of them, more or less, and take a lodging: this is very cheap there, for a lodging that would cost twelve crowns a month here, would not fetch one there. They furnish it with beds, tables, and other utensils,

¹ The drug on which this story is founded is not specified. Linschoten (i, 211) describes its potency as being still more marvellous: "It will lye six yeres in a man's body, and never doe him hurt, and then kil him, without missing halfe an houres time. They make it also for one, two, or three yeaes, monthes, or dayes, as it pleaseth them best."

and have a slave or two in common. They ordinarily reside in the lower rooms on account of the great heat. There are also other lodgings, with no separate rooms, for letting only to soldiers or other foreigners of little means. Others again of more commodious sort are to be let as here. These soldiers live a knavish life, for the most part, at least such as have no cleverness. Some carry on intrigues with married women or widows, who support them; others gain the favour of lords and gentlemen, who do not allow them to want; others engage in trade, or gamble. And these four lords, of whom I have spoken, keep open table for all. Although they thus live in common, they never eat two together, but each has his portion, as I have said, and then has more wine, bread, flesh, and fish than two could eat. Such, too, as care not to go and eat at the lord's house, send their servant to bring their dish and portion to their own home.

All day long you see them in their parlours, or at their doors, seated in chairs in the cool shade, all in their shirts and white cotton drawers. There they sing and play the guitar or other instrument. The place is all overspread with foliage, and water is thrown about to keep it fresh. They are vastly polite towards the passers-by, freely bidding them enter, sit, make themselves at home, and have a chat. They never go about the town all at one time, but at most two or three, sometimes not having more than three or four dress suits to serve ten or twelve of them. For all that, when you see them walk through the town, you would say they were lords with an income of 10,000 livres, such is their bravery, with their slaves behind them, and a man carrying over them a big sombrero or parasol. There are places where these slaves are to be hired, and one can be got for half a day for a *vintain*,¹ which is worth six blanks. They walk in their suits of silk with the greatest pride imaginable. But as

¹ Port. *vintem*, a base copper coin. Wm. Barret says that fifteen basarucos "make a vinton of naughty mony".

soon as they are arrived at their lodging they doff these promptly, and others take them who may want to go to town in their turn.

These soldiers roam abroad at nights, and make it somewhat dangerous to walk about the town after eight or nine o'clock, for although the archers and sergeants are on their rounds, the soldiers go in stronger bodies. They have a bad custom, which is that they never make their assaults singly man upon man, but most often four or five of them fall upon one alone, and slay him whether it be night or day. By night they murder and rob, and make no scruple about killing a man for money.

Thus do the soldiers conduct themselves in the Indies, on shore and at sea; some well, the rest ill, according as their fortune is good or evil. But most of them in the end marry and go into trade: for some care not to return to Portugal, having a sufficiency out there: others cannot return for want of means. It costs them but little to live there, for they drink only Banguenin water, and a man is well lodged for a tangué, or six sols a month; insomuch that with six blanks or three sols a day, a man can get along and have good cheer enough.

CHAPTER IX.

Of the kingdom of Dealcan, Decan, or Ballagate, and the neighbourhood of Goa.

But because the island of Goa, and the surrounding country, now under the power and influence of the Portuguese, were anciently an appanage of the kingdom of Dealcan or Decan, whereof we have often spoken, it will not be out of place to tell something of what I have heard at Goa of that kingdom.

It is now a hundred and ten years and more the Portuguese have held the Island of Goa, for the recovery whereof

out of their hands the kings of Dealcan have done all they could by force of war; they have even laid siege to it twice,¹ with two very powerful armies composed each of 200,000 men, and each siege lasted nine entire months. And the King of Dealcan used to say blusteringly, that to fill up the river, and make a passage for his army to the said island, he needed nothing but the *alpargues*,² or shoes, of his own people. And indeed, he did nearly fill it up with earth and stones in one place, and thereby got the means of carrying over a certain force of men; but they met with a handsome reception and repulse from the Portuguese. But what astonished the king most was the cannon of the Portuguese, which was of considerable weight, whilst he had none. He at length recognised that he could not take the place by force, but that on the contrary he would gain more benefit and wealth from traffic and intercourse with the Portuguese, than if Goa belonged to himself: on the other hand, the Portuguese saw that they could not remain there for any length of time without the friendship of this

¹ In 1570-1, and (?) in 1583. The first siege was in pursuance of the great confederacy of the Kings of Bijapur and Ahmednuggur and the Turks led by Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur, and of the Kings of Achin and Johore in the far East, to drive the Portuguese out of India. Chaul was besieged at the same time. The siege of Goa was raised chiefly by the terrible ravages of disease in the investing army. The Venetian Cesar Frederick was in the city at the time (*Hak.*, ii, pt. II, p. 219). For a fuller account see *Decadas*; Faria y Souza, *As. Port.*; and Antonio de Castilho, *Comentario do cerco de Goa e Chaul no anno de 1570*, Lisbon, 1573, 8vo., and 1736, 4to. The second siege, in which the Turks are said to have lost 20,000 men, chiefly by disease, is interesting to us from the fact that our countryman, Edward Webbe, fought as master-gunner in the Turkish army (E. Webbe, *His Trauailes*, 1590, 4to.; reprint by Arber, 1868, 8vo.).

² Port. *alparca*, from the Ar. *pargat*, sandals (Vieira, *Dict. Port.*). At the siege of Famagosta, in 1571, the Turkish leader made a like boast:—"By means of country people who went to Famagosta to ransom prisoners, Mustafa caused it to be reported in the place that his force was so overwhelming that if each man would but fling his shoe into the ditch a mound might be raised by which the wall might be stormed" Stirling-Maxwell's *Don John of Austria*, Libr. edit., i, 366).

king, because all their provisions had to reach them from his country, wherefore they made peace together upon these conditions : That the Portuguese would live in their island according to their laws and customs, without encroaching in any way upon the lands or territories belonging to the said king, nor, in like wise, would he make any enterprise upon their island. Further, that the Indians in the island who are pagans (as a multitude in fact are, even to the number of more than 20,000) should live according to their own religion without constraint, observing indeed the Portuguese laws, whether of justice or police, but not being allowed to have any of their temples or pagodas in the island : and further, that they should pay for every male, of what young age soever, one perdo to the King of Portugal.

A rule is also observed between the two parties, that if a Christian or infidel of Goa, having committed some crime, happens to flee to the country of Dealcan, he cannot be followed by the officers of justice : nor, in like manner, a man of Dealcan at Goa. Yet it is exceeding difficult to win refuge at Goa, because one cannot pass over to the island without licence of the judge in writing, as I have said, and because of the guards that are at the passages and fortresses ; nevertheless there are many that fly thither at all times. A great number of Portuguese and Christian Indians sojourn in these territories of Dealcan, and become residents there, living in all liberty, save for the exercise of the Christian religion, the which they cannot have, no more than the infidels can have theirs at Goa.

This King of Dealcan hath under him a very great extent of country, and many kingdoms, such as Decan, Ballagate, Hidalcan,¹ and others. These were anciently separate king-

¹ Pyrard is in the same hopeless confusion in regard to these names as his predecessor Linschoten. As has been shown, Hidalcan is really the name of the prince ; *Dealcan* is a confusion of that name with *Deccan* ; and *Ballagate* means simply the "Highlands", Pers. *bālā*, above, and Hind. *ghāt*, "a pass". Compare the old Scotch phrase, "abune the pass".

doms possessed by their own kings ; but in process of time that of Dealcan hath subdued them all : it is at present very powerful and redoubted, and is bordered on the one side by the kingdom of Bengal, and on the other by the territory of the Grand Mogor. When I was about my departure from Goa, the news arrived there that this Grand Mogor had proclaimed war against the King of Dealcan, who was quite resolved to meet him, and it was said that this war was only to get a passage to march against the King of Bengala, which passage the King of Dealcan was resolved to prevent. The King of Dealcan is a Mahometan, as are a large part of his people : the rest are Gentiles and idolators, like the Canarins of Goa, the Nairs, and other Indians.

He is an amiable and peaceable prince—no tyrant, but a friend of all foreigners, and of his neighbours that are at peace with him. As for his power, it is such that he can put in the field 200,000 men, as he did at the last siege of Goa, which they say he would have taken at the last, but for the treason of two of the principal lords of his army, whom he afterwards beheaded on that account.

The viceroy has always an ambassador at the court of this king ; there are also some Jesuits who are well received by him, and they make some use of their opportunities, but secretly. In all these countries there are great numbers of Portuguese, who are allowed to reside where they please in all assurance, but without the exercise of their religion : there are also there a goodly number of Christian Indians, but all these are men who have committed some crime and dare not return among the Portuguese, and therefore live there a reckless life. So, too, there are Dealcan subjects at Goa and elsewhere, living in the like liberty. As for the Portuguese that are about the king at Decan, or Ballagate, they can exercise their religion, because of the Jesuits and the Portuguese ambassador there.

This king also keeps an ambassador in ordinary at Goa ;

he is a person of dignity and importance, and has the exercise of his religion in his own house. All the bodies of infidels at Goa are buried or burned in the Dealcan territories and not on the island. When this ambassador goes about the town he is accompanied by a power of men, partly his own domestics, and partly lords and merchants of the said kingdom. He has also a number of armed soldiers, as well before as behind him, carrying bows, arrows, arquebuses, pikes, swords, and Chinese bucklers. And though he has many fine horses yet most frequently he rides in a palanquin, followed by lords on horseback; and then he has his horses led by the hand, splendidly barbed and caparisoned, with a number of pages, one bearing his fan, another his silver box full of *betel*,¹ another a box containing *chunan*²—that is, lime for using with his betel—and two others with silver flagons or vases filled with water, one for drinking and washing his mouth, the other for washing the privy parts as occasion requires. His grand parasol is borne aloft, and a band of drums, flutes, hautbois, and other instruments of the country use, accompanies him. Thus do all the ambassadors and great lords of the country proceed.

It is now about forty years ago since, the King of Dealcan having two sons, the younger³ came to Goa, became a Christian, and was baptised. Afterwards, his father being dead, he claimed a division with his brother, who refused to recognise him because of his religion, whereupon he sought aid of the viceroy, with whom he made war upon his said elder brother; the latter, partly under stress of war, and partly by advice of his council, at length gave him a share of the lands near Goa, viz.: the lands of *Bardes* and *Salcette*, which are in the vicinity of the Island of Goa, having only

¹ The Malayāl. *veṭṭila*, and Tam. *veṭṭilei* (*Piper betel*); see Yule, *Gloss*.

² Tam. *chunām*. The word is now in everyday Anglo-Indian use.

³ The history of Meal-Khân, here inaccurately recorded from tradition, is given by De Couto, *Dec. V*, Liv. ix, cc. 8-11; Liv. x, cc. 1, 2, 6, 11: *Dec. VII*, Liv. i, cc. 10, 11; Liv. ii, cc. 2, 7-10; Liv. iv, c. 9.

the river between, along with three or four other small islands. These two lordships are not part of the terra-firma at all, being separated therefrom by some streams that are easily fordable. The whole consists of about twenty leagues or more of country, very high, fertile throughout, with much trade, and the same people as at Goa. This Christian king, dying without children, left all his property and lands to the King of Portugal, who at this day possesses them under that title, and the Portuguese have built there fortresses, churches, and parish churches with colleges of Jesuits, who hold all the cures there, so that the faith waxes there daily. All these lands furnish the food of the Island of Goa.

To return to the King of Dealcan : he has a great number of elephants, whereof he makes presents betimes to the King of Spain, and these are kept at Goa for his service. He has also plenty of good horses, but these come from Persia and Mogor. As regards Arab horses, the viceroys of Goa give them to him ; they are sent to his people young and fresh, and they break them, for there is no nation in all the Indies so handy with horses. The Portuguese themselves have no other grooms for breaking and training their horses but those from there ; indeed also, after the Nairs, there are none who understand the management of elephants so well.

The country produces a vast number of tigers, which trouble them sore. The soil is fertile throughout, being watered by many rivers and streams. There are also serpents very thick and long. The finest and best diamonds come in quantities from the kingdom of *Ballagata* : they are among the principal sources of wealth to the king and country ; for in the Indies the diamonds of *Ballagata* only are prized ; plenty are found in Pegu and elsewhere, but not of like value. His people have also silk and cotton, whereof they make stuffs : they are exceeding well dressed, wearing trousers, and large coats of silk and cotton, with turbans on

the head—straight, high, and pointed, and not round like those of the Turks and Arabs; their shoes are of the Turkish fashion, red, gilded and pointed in front, and open above; this is the dress as well of Gentiles as Mahometans. It is a marvel to see the throng of people that enters the island of Goa every day, as well men as women, laden with all kinds of provisions, with buffaloes, asses, and other beasts of burthen: thus is Goa fed.

It is now about fifteen years since there was at Goa a very near kinsman¹ of the King of Deccan, who was not yet a Christian, but was nevertheless come with the intention of getting himself baptised. He was instructed every day, and so abode among the Portuguese two or three years in this hope, and was most desirous to get himself baptised, for there none are constrained thereto. At this juncture came to him some cheats from Deccan, who made him believe that the king was dead, and that the crown belonged to him, as being the next heir, saying that they had the word of the chiefs for it, if he would go forth from Goa; all which he believed with simplicity, and conspired with them to depart secretly, so as not to be discovered by the Portuguese, who would have turned him back, and to whom he had given his word, having received much kindness at their hands; in such wise they so managed that they fled forth of Goa, and gained the country of Ballagata, where the king was. The poor prince being arrived there was fairly well received at the first; but was nevertheless closely watched. At length the king having assembled his council in his regard, was advised to put out his eyes, which is the punishment of all such as aspire to the crown, except the eldest son of the king: this is the custom among all the Indian and Mahometan kings, in imitation of the Turk and the

¹ The prince *Çufo Khan* (according to De Couto), son of Meale-Khan. He came to Goa in 1584 (see *Dec. X*, Liv. IV, cc. 7, 10, 11; *Arch. Port. Or.*, Fasc. 3, Doc. 23, § 14).

Persian. The king was afraid lest this prince should in course of time engage the Portuguese against him, as the other had done of whom I have spoken above.

Again, at the time I was leaving Goa, there was another prince of Dealcan, a kinsman of the king, who was residing there and was made a Christian, and even was married.¹ He draws a pension from the King of Spain, as do all the kings, princes, and great Indian lords who become Christians, and come for shelter to the Portuguese. This prince, after having been married five or six years to a pretty Metice lady, got tired of her and wanted to quit her, according to the custom of the Mahometan Indians, who thus quit one another when they think fit; and thinking to do the like he asked to be unmarried in the church; but this was not allowed. Seeing this he withdrew to the Moors' country and sent word to the Portuguese that he would never return unless they would unmarry him: whereupon they were advised that he being a man of consideration, it was more worth their while to permit it, and to let him be unmarried as his fancy was, than that getting a refusal he should renounce the faith. So it was that since then he has espoused a Brameny girl, with whom he lives quite peaceably.²

There was also a king of the Maldives that became a Christian at Cochin, and was baptised,³ as I have already said in treating of the Maldives: he even brought his wife there and they were received in great honour. This king afterwards wished to constrain his subjects, who had revolted, to recognise him; to that end, he sent an army of Portuguese, who built a fort on those islands, and warred against them in such wise by the space of ten years, that they made

¹ This was the son of Mahmad Khan, a bastard of Meale-Khan. On becoming a Christian he was baptised by the name of Don João de Menezes Shâh (*Dec. X*, Liv. iv, c. 11).

² From a petition of this prince, given by Rivara, it appears that he was still resident in Goa in 1622.

³ Under the name of Dom Manoel (see vol. i, pp. 245-249, and App. B.).

the majority of the islanders tributary. But at length the Portuguese were betrayed, and being surprised in their fortress were all slain. After that they have not been able to regain a footing, but the Mahometan king of the Maldives has agreed to pay a certain sum of money every year to this Christian king, and to his children and posterity. Under this treaty they are at peace, for no Christians reside amongst these people. I have seen at Goa the grandson of that Christian king, aged fifteen years, with his Portuguese mother; he is named Don Philippe.¹ The Portuguese give him the title of Majesty, calling him King of the Maldives, and honour and respect him greatly. The King of Spain gives a pension both to him and to his mother: they were lodged near the Jesuits' college, in a very handsome house. I have often been to see them, as indeed they begged me on account that I had lived at the Maldives, whereof they were glad enough to hear me gossip. I saw also in his house that gentleman named *Adrian de Gouya*, whom he had sent upon an embassy to the Mahometan king of the Maldives, as I have said²: he welcomed me with much courtesy, having been my warm friend. This little king has a suit against his uncle, named Don Pedro, who resides at Cochin, and is married there, for that he also calls himself king of the Maldives. This uncle is married to a Metice lady, nobly born and vastly rich, who maintains him in comfort; for without her he has only his pension from the king, which is small, and very often, indeed usually, but badly paid.

¹ See further App. B.

² See vol. i, p. 293.

CHAPTER X.

Voyage of the Author to Ceylon, and description of that Island.

Being then at Goa with the Portuguese, I was a soldier in many of their armies that they equipped during my sojourn there, chiefly beyond the coast where Goa is, to the island of Ceylon, to Malaca, Sumatra, Java, and other islands of Sunda and the Moluccas, and was paid like the rest.

For they are wont to equip many ships and galiots to send to Malaca, and as far as the Moluccas, to conduct their merchantmen in security; and also for an escort to such as traffic in China and Japan. Wherefore I shall describe here what I have observed in all those parts: where I have halted, sojourned, and fought.¹

Ceylon is a very great island, towards the point of Cape Comorin; it extends north and south, and the southern² part is opposite Cape Comorin, between which and the island vessels cannot pass by reason that the sea is shallow. It is estimated to be three to four hundred leagues in compass. It is the richest island yet discovered, and is thickly set with many towns. Some Indians call it by the name of *Tenasirin*,³ signifying land of delights or earthly paradise.

¹ He gives us no particulars of any engagement; indeed, at the close of this chapter he gives us to understand that at this period the Portuguese, when they met the Dutch, avoided fighting by striking.

² *Sic*, a mistake for "northern".

³ The interpretation is right, but the application to Ceylon is erroneous. The name Tenasserim (Malay *tānah-sāri*, the land of happiness or delight) was long ago given by the Malays to the Burma province, which still keeps it, the Burmese corruption being *Tanang-sāri*. Pyrard seems to be quoting Barbosa, the originator of the misapplication, who says of Ceylon that the Indians call it "*Tenarisin*, that is to say, land of delights" ("*Tenarisin que quer dizer terra das delicias*"). How this pas-

No words can express the richness, goodness, and fertility of this island. First as to its fruits: they have a taste and savour, such that none so excellent are to be found in all the Indies, though they grow wild in the woods and forests, and, among the rest, cinnamon. To name all would be impossible, but all those of the rest of India are to be found there in profusion and perfection; so that the Indians with no bad reason deem it to be the Earthly Paradise.¹ There are other trees, viz., palms, that bear the *areca*, which is chewed with the betel, and grows there in such abundance that all India is furnished thence, and a great traffic is carried on to all parts, for whole ships are laden with it for conveyance elsewhere.²

sage comes to appear in Lord Stanley's translation (p. 166)—“And the Indians call it Ylinarim. It is a rich and luxuriant land, etc.”—is more than I can say.

¹ The Earthly Paradise of the middle ages is even more difficult to localise than the realm of Prester John. Its identification with Ceylon, which occurs also in Marignolli (see *Cathay*, pp. 326, 346) and elsewhere, is probably a confusion of the Christian legend, which seeks to localise the Garden of Eden, with the Mahomedan, which fixes Adam's Peak and its valleys as the place of Adam's retreat after his expulsion from Eden. What has been written on the terrestrial paradise would, as Col. Yule says, probably fill a respectable library. As developed by Christian fancy, “it is the old garden of Eden, which lay in the far east beyond the stream of Ocean, raised so high on a triple terrace of mountains that the deluge did not touch it. It is the residence of certain departed saints, and the pictures drawn of it are coloured with classical reminiscences of Elysium and the Islands of the Blest. How these outlines were filled up at different periods may be learned from Ephraem Syrus' poem on Paradise (4th century), from Cosmas Indicopleustes (6th century), from Dante (*Purg.*, c. 28 *et seq.*), and other mediæval sources.” (*Encyc. Brit.*, art. “Paradise”).

² Ribeiro (i, c. 3) says that every year no less than a thousand *champanas* (“Sampan,” a small boat; see Yule, *Gloss.*) of areca-nuts were loaded from the kingdom of Cotta. Legrand, followed by Lee, erroneously reads *arena* in this passage of Ribeiro, and makes this an export of sand. Tennent (ii, 27, n.) explains the mistake. Knox (p. 13) says there was great trade in these nuts with the Coromandel coast when he first went to Ceylon. It is still considerable.

The inhabitants are idolatrous folk, and worship idols, but of another sort than those of Malabar. They are all of great stature, very black and ill-favoured, but supple and ingenious; a people much given to their pleasures and delights; for the rest, very poltroons and cowards.¹ They go all naked, both men and women, save that they cover the private parts with rich silk cloths. The ears of both men and women are three or four inches long, and all pierced and laden with precious stones; they wear also many rings on the fingers, and girdles of fine gold. Their language is peculiar: they are called *Cingalla*.²

These *Cingalla* are very apt at manufactures, and have a very cunning and delicate hand for gold and silver, iron, steel, ivory, and other materials, which they work with excellent neatness. They make all sorts of arms, such as arquebuses, swords, pikes, and bucklers, which are the best and most valued in the Indies.³ These people are very nimble, and good leapers: and all wear the hair long, like those of the Maldives. I never thought it possible they could show such excellence in fashioning arquebuses and other arms; more beautiful, indeed, are they in workmanship and ornament than those made here.

It is perhaps the most fertile region in the world for fruits: they are exceeding good and choice. The country is all covered with forests, fruit-trees bearing oranges both sweet and bitter, limes of a very sweet and delicious taste, pomegranates, cocos, pine-apples, and other Indian fruits.

Flesh of all sorts is abundant, nor is there any lack of fish; add millet, honey, canes, sugar, and butter in plenty; but there is grown no rice,⁴ which is their principal nou-

¹ "The people of Seilan are no soldiers, but poor cowardly creatures" (*Marco Polo*, by Yule, Bk. III, ch. xiv).

² See vol. i, p. 266.

³ Knox says they make good guns, but he does not praise them so highly as the author. Many existing specimens are of beautiful workmanship; but of course the art is dead now.

⁴ Quite a mistake, though a large amount was then, as now, imported.

rishment: it is brought from Bengala. Moreover, all the cinnamon of the world comes from there only; there are whole forests of it. There are also vast numbers of elephants, whose teeth are much prized by them, and are a great article of traffic; also great quantities of precious stones, such as rubies, hyacinths, sapphires, topazes, garnets, emeralds,¹ cat's-eyes, etc., the best in the Indies; add to that, there is there the finest and greatest fishery of exceeding fine and beautiful pearls; but there are no diamonds.

The Portuguese have two fortresses in this island. The principal is called *Colombo*, and the other *Pointe de Galle*.² They are strong, and well garrisoned with soldiers, who are mostly criminals and exiles; and in the same way only women of ill-fame are sent thither. The general, or governor, of the country, who was there while I was at Goa, was named *Don Hieronimo Azebedo*,³ a very good captain. The principal and greatest king of the island is called *Rachil*,⁴ and there are many other kings.

¹ No emeralds are found.

² In orig. misprinted *Port de Salle*. These were the fortresses, but the Portuguese had then a number of small forts; e.g., Mannar, Negombo, and Kalutara, on the west coast. About this time, too, after the visit of the Dutch to Batticaloa in 1602, they built forts there and at Trincomalee (Lee's *Ribeiro*, p. 50).

³ Hieronimo Azevedo had been admiral at Malacca in 1585; he was eighteen years in Ceylon; became 20th viceroy Dec. 1612, and governed till Nov. 1617; he returned to Europe and ended his days in a dungeon at Lisbon. Faria y Souza says his reverses were a judgment from the Almighty for his barbarities in Ceylon. Pyrard was probably but a short time in Ceylon, and some soldier may have described this inhuman monster as a very good captain. His character may be estimated by his deeds, which included the tossing of Sinhalese to alligators, *to amuse his troops*, forcing mothers to pound their children, and other enormities (see *Faria y Souza*, by Stevens, iii, 72, 95, 98, 108, 167, 277; Monfart, *Trauailes*, p. 26; Tennent, ii, 23).

⁴ Prob. *Raja*. The assumed title of Raja Sinha, "Lion King", the great usurper and tyrant, then not long dead, likely induced the notion that *raja* was part of the name. The king at this time was Seniwiratna, who reigned at Kandy (1604-16) after the death of Don Juan, who is next mentioned in the text.

There was one¹ seized and taken to Goa now twenty years ago ; he then became a Christian, and was married, and had a good pension of the King of Spain for his maintenance, as have all the other kings and princes who are converted. This prince having resided a long while at Goa, well beloved of all, was so trusted that, by command of the King of Spain, and with the advice of the Council of the Indies, it was considered advisable to send him to Ceylon to rule there under the authority of the King of Spain, to the end that the people might obey him more gladly, as being a native of the country, in such wise that he was restored to the possession of all his country. But he was not there two years or so ere he abjured Christianity and returned to his first faith, and made war upon the Portuguese. This shows how perfidious and wicked these people are. The residence of this king was toward the port of Galla. He was called Don

¹ Kunappa Bandar, son of a prince of the royal house, whom Raja Sinha treacherously put to death, fled on that event to Colombo, whence he was sent to Goa. He was there during Linschoten's residence (*Linschoten*, i, 78), and was baptised as Don Juan, in honour of the victor of Lepanto. With great vigour and sagacity he led a successful revolt of his countrymen against the tyrant who had murdered his father, permitting the Portuguese to believe he was a tool in their hands. On being established on the throne (1592) he renounced Christianity, and took the name of Wimala Dharma. After several reverses he managed by a ruse to entrap a Portuguese army of 1,200 men, under Pedro de Sousa, in a mountain pass, where, deserted by their native allies, they were slain almost to a man. Donna Catharina, the Portuguese candidate, fell into the hands of the conqueror, who married her, and thus held the throne until his death in 1604. The end of his reign was signalled by his reception of the Dutch under Spilberg (1602), and the murder of Sibalt de Weer at Batticaloa (1603). Simple-minded Pyrard accuses him of perfidy in abjuring Christianity on gaining his throne ; but what was his own royal master, Henry IV, about in the very same year, 1593 ? One act of the Sinhalese prince should go far to redeem him from the charge of perfidy. After the massacre above-mentioned, Sousa made a death-bed request that his son should be spared and sent back to Colombo. The conqueror promised and performed (*De Couto, Dec. XI, xii ; Faria y Souza*, by Stevens, vol. iii ; *Tennent*, ii, 21, *et seq.* ; *Pridham, Ceylon*, ii, 95 ; *Lee's Ribeiro*, 26).

Jouan, and had been conquered, himself and his kingdom, by the captain, *André Furtado de Mendosa*, one of the bravest and most valiant captains that ever went to the Indies.

They used to worship a monkey's tooth, and when that was taken by the Portuguese they wished to buy it back at the price of great riches, but the Portuguese would not restore it, and it was publicly burned at Goa.¹

¹ This sentence, which I have placed as a separate paragraph, is obviously out of place here. The story of the *Daladā*, or sacred tooth of Buddha, is too lengthy even to be sketched. Its earlier history is to be found in the *Dhātuvansa* and the *Mahāvansa*; see also some interesting passages translated by Mr Ievers in *J. Cey. As. Soc.*, vol. viii, art. "Beligala". The alleged capture of the *real* tooth by the Portuguese in 1560, has given rise to an infinity of notices and much controversy. That they captured, somewhere in the Jaffna district, a tooth or thing which they believed to be the historic relic, and that the viceroy Constantine de Bragança had it publicly pounded in a mortar and burnt to ashes at Goa, may be taken for fact (see De Couto, *Dec. VII*, passages from which, with all the authorities, are quoted by Mr. J. G. da Cunha in his *Mem. on the Tooth-Relic of Ceylon*, 1875). But as Mr. Rhys Davids points out (*Academy*, 1871, p. 341), it has never been shown how the tooth, though given to travel, got out of the Sinhalese into the Tamil country of Jaffna. To which objection I would add another, that the Sinhalese never seem to have mourned the loss of their palladium. The Portuguese heard in 1566 of the tooth cult going on at Kandy as of yore, and of course charged the King of Kandy with a fraud. They then bitterly regretted that they had not sold their captured ivory to the King of Pegu for 40,000 cruzados. The Sinhalese king was wiser. He sold a *real* relic to the King of Pegu, and, when the transaction was complete, discovered that the *most real* tooth was still in his possession. There need be no doubt that the relic now enshrined at Kandy, where I have seen it on two or three occasions between 1871 and 1873, is the same which has been worshipped at least since 1566. As to its material, nothing is known: in size and shape it is not of normal human dimensions; but this, in the eyes of its devotees, is rather proof of its genuineness. The best representation of it is that given by Forbes (*Eleven Years in Ceylon*), and copied by Tennent and by Yule (*Marco Polo*). The cut in Davy's *Ceylon* is, according to my recollection of the original, inaccurate. That the *daladā* was a monkey's tooth is of course only a Portuguese slander, in which Buddhism is confused with the Hindu worship of Hanuman.

This king, having revolted and abjured the faith, put to death all the Portuguese that were found in his borders; and so it was that afterwards the Hollanders passing the *pointe de Galla* with three ships, as their wont is to cast anchor and make a sojourn there, contracted a peace and alliance with this king; and such was the confidence reposed in one another, that the Hollanders used to go ashore in all freedom and assurance, and the Cingalla in like manner used to come aboard their ships. But upon this the king conceived a great treachery, assembling all the chiefs, principal soldiers, and most eminent men at his palace for a grand solemn banquet, which he gave to all the highest grandees of his court and of the Nairs.¹ The Hollander general went thither in good faith with sixty or seventy of the chief men of his three ships, chosen by himself, and arrayed in the bravest style possible. They were there received very magnificently, according to the custom of the country; but the poor Hollanders' dessert was after another fashion, for while they were at table thinking only to enjoy themselves and make good cheer, they were incontinently seized and massacred there and then by suborned villains.² The design of the king was at once to surprise all the ships, but God did not permit that, and saved them: for three or four mariners that were there waiting upon them escaped, and ran and flung themselves into their boats, to give word to those on board the ships of what had taken place. So it was they straightway

¹ His informants meant probably the Tamils of Batticaloa.

² The massacre of Sibalt de Weer and his comrades (1st June 1603) arose out of a difference between him and Wimala Dharma (Don Juan) as to the division of the Portuguese prizes, or, as some say, was brought about by the Dutchman's insulting language when drunk. The affair is involved in some obscurity. It took place at Batticaloa, and not at Galle, as Pyrard implies. Some say that it was done by the king's officers without his order: Pyrard's statement that it was done at the instigation of the Portuguese is uncorroborated, and may be dismissed as a Portuguese boast (see Van Warwyk's *Voyage* of 1602; Baldæus, *Hist.*, ch. vii; Tennent, ii, 36).

cut the cables, leaving their anchors there, and set sail, laying a course for Achen, whither God conducted them, for all their pilots had been slain. I have heard it said by the two Hollanders who came to the Maldives, and subsequently by others, that that general was one of the bravest and most valiant men that had come out of Holland this many a day, and that the rest of his comrades were of the same temper. The perfidious king that played them this sorry trick did it all to make his peace with the Portuguese; for I have heard them say themselves that this came about of their counsel, and that the king had promised to deliver up the ships to them, saving a part of the valuable cargo that he should retain. The general was not slain at the time,¹ nor were two or three others; but when the king saw that one part of his design had failed, he fell into such rage and choler, that he had their eyes put out, and practised a thousand other cruelties upon them. These kings of Ceylon are sometimes friends, sometimes enemies, of the Portuguese, changing thus in a thousand fashions.

The Portuguese are in continual war with these islanders, a great part of whom they have conquered and hold under their power, and little by little they are overcoming the rest. Many have been made Christians.

War is very difficult for the Portuguese, because the country is much covered and full of woods; and thus in going to war they must always have a bill and a hatchet in hand. Nor are the Portuguese so quick and nimble in marching through these woods as the islanders, who prepare ambuscades therein, and then escape in the thickest of them. Many a time have the Portuguese been besieged in their fortresses, but these have never been taken.

The war is very cruel between the two, and when the Portuguese take prisoners of war they make them slaves or put them to death. On the islanders' part, they do not put

¹ He was, according to the Dutch account.

the Portuguese to death, but merely cut off their noses and send them back; for they say they will not have their soil polluted with the bodies and blood of foreigners, so far as they can prevent it.

In this island is a point towards the south called "de Galla"; it is a cape advancing far into the sea. I shall tell what happened to three Hollander ships that were guarding it when they met those two large vessels, the one of Arabia, the other of Guzerate, whereof I have spoken in treating of the Maldives. These ships remained there about three months, during the time the east winds blow (which is also the time when the ships of India return from the South and from Bengala), and took sixteen or eighteen Portuguese vessels; for all the vessels coming from the coasts and shores of Bengala, Malaca, Sunda, China, Japan, and elsewhere must pass there, and sight this point or cape, as we did the Cape of Good Hope in going to the Indies. They also touch there in coming to all the rest of the Indian coast, that is, to the parts from Cape Comorin to Ormus. Those who will not go near it, without doubt will get entangled in the shoals of the Maldives, whence it is hard to withdraw without danger. Nevertheless, these captures incommoded the Portuguese more than they enriched the Hollanders, for most of the vessels carried only provisions for the ports. The Portuguese suffered in two ways: first, in losing honour and credit in the eyes of the Indian kings and peoples; secondly, in the necessity and lack of food which the people of the ports and havens to which the ships belonged sustained thereby; for if there is a failure of provisioning one year, the famine is very great. In these vessels were only some merchants and passengers, who are Portuguese or Metices and Indian Christians; for all the rest, as well officers as mariners, and even the merchants themselves, are Indians,—either Gentiles, Jews, or Mahometans. The Indian Christians habited in the Portuguese style are not deemed Indians, but Portuguese. The Hollanders gave more

quarter and better terms of capitulation to these real Indians than to the Portuguese and Metifs; and none of the Indian ships, from whatsoever port, sustained any injury, but, on the contrary, got offers of aid and assistance, and this occurred to many that did not ask it. So it is that the Hollanders, English, and French, whom they rate all alike, are well received among these Indian kings and peoples, forasmuch as these nations do them no damage.

Now for the order observed by the Hollanders when they meet vessels, it is to fire a cannon-shot, whereupon the others strike at once, for they have no fancy to fight, being all private merchants, or Indian mariners and officers, to whom the Hollanders do no harm. But they seize the Portuguese and all their goods, and the ship also, if it belongs to the Portuguese, or they give it to the Indians. They put the Portuguese on shore without injury, giving them money for their support until they get into their own territories. When they meet Indian ships they search them to see if there be any Portuguese concealed therein; not finding any, they let them go without more ado. They merely ask if they are Mahometans, or of what other religion; being informed on this point, they make them swear on the book of their law, or on a biscuit (upon which oath they are believed), whether the cargo belongs to them or to the Portuguese. And when they are found mixed on a ship, the Hollanders do the like, setting apart and leaving the goods of the Indians, and seizing those of the Portuguese, that is, such as are their own property: and most often they set fire to the vessel or give it to the Indians, making them swear not to give what is left to the Portuguese; for if they came to know that they had given anything to them, they would treat them as enemies. It is impossible to count the ships that the Hollanders have seized in the Indies in this fashion, without firing a shot: for they are regarded as Kings of the sea by the Indians and by the Portuguese themselves. The latter,

as soon as they sight the Hollanders afar off, even in lesser numbers, think of nothing but flight, and of abandoning their ship and all their merchandise, themselves escaping in some little boat.

CHAPTER XI.

Of Malacca, a description of it, and the memorable siege which the Hollanders laid thereto.

Departing from Ceylon, we steered our course to Malacca,¹ which is distant from Goa six hundred leagues, near the Equinoctial line, at one degree's elevation of the Arctic Pole's circle, very near the great island of Sumatra, and the kingdoms of Sian and Pegu. The Portuguese have built a very strong city there, which is of vast importance to them, seeing it is the key and staple of the trade of China, Japan, the Moluccas, and other islands in the neighbourhood of Sunda: so that, after Ormus, there is no captain thrives like him of Malacca, for there he is at the straits of Malacca and Sumatra, where all the ships must touch and pay their dues. Even the Portuguese vessels cannot pass without the acquittance of the governor of Malacca, both going and returning.

This place causes much trouble to the Hollanders, English, and French, by reason whereof the Hollanders have desired

¹ Thus spelt by the Portuguese, and more correctly than our *Malacca* (see Yule, *Gloss.*). It was a city of great importance before its capture by Albuquerque in 1511; Varthema, who visited it about 1505, saying, "Truly I believe that more ships arrive here than at any place in the world." Before the siege by the Dutch, which the author is about to describe, it had been several times invested by the leagued kings of Achin, Johore, and Java. The most notable sieges were three in the time of one governor—1573-76—described in the rare work, *Historia dos Cercos que em tempo de Antonio Monis Barreto Governador que foi dos estados da India os Achens & Jaos puserão à fortaleza de Malaca, sendo Tristão Vaz de Veiga capitão della Brevemente composta por Jorge de Lemos*; Lisbon, 1585, 4to., ff. 64.

to take it, and they laid siege to it in this wise :—The said Hollanders and the King of Jor had made a compact and treaty together to drive the Portuguese out of Malaca, and for this purpose the Hollanders had thirteen large vessels commanded by the Captain Corneille Madalif,¹ their general in the Indies. So, on the 29th day of April 1606, he cast anchor before Malaca, with full 1,500 Hollanders, who, being landed, invested Malaca. The town was much surprised, for the governor had had notice and orders from the viceroy of Goa to supply four ships of war to the merchantmen for an escort on the voyage from Goa to China and Japan. So there remained with him in the fortress no more than thirty soldiers, though he expected that the viceroy must full soon arrive, having had advice from Spain by the gallion which leaves Lisbon a month or two before the fleet of carracks, to go direct to Malaca, and not to the Indies. This gallion is of 700 or 800 tons burthen, and carries despatches, as well as loads cargoes in China and the islands of Sunda.

¹ Cornelis Matelief the younger left the Texel with eleven ships, 12th May 1605 ; met V. der Hagen at Mauritius on his way home, 1st Jan. 1606, and arrived before Malacca 30th April. During the siege he was joined by two more ships, making thirteen, as above stated. The account of the siege here given is nearly accurate. Matelief, a sea-captain, untaught in the art of war, proved himself in this siege, and in the two naval combats which followed it, to be a born leader of men. His enterprise was perilous in the extreme. He disembarked the great bulk of his small force and his cannon, leaving his ships undefended in the road, and exposed (should any mishap befall his scout) to the swoop of the viceroy's fleet, which throughout the siege was daily expected. He got little or no assistance from the Johore alliance ; his own men were continually drunk, and fell an easy prey to dysentery and fever. These difficulties notwithstanding, Matelief re-embarked his men and guns with the precision of a veteran general. His own high courage at length animated his crews, and the Dutch never fought better than in the two desperate sea-fights before Malacca. For accounts of this voyage see *Rec. des Voy.*, vol. iii ; *Grotius*, xvii, 792-800 ; *Motley, Un. Neth.*, ch. 44 ; and Matelief's own account, translated into English under the title, *An historical and true discourse of a Voyage, etc.*, London, 1608, pp. 25.

Thus was the captain taken unawares, lacking provisions as well as men, and having no notice of this enterprise, nor that the Hollanders had as many vessels in the Indies. The attack was made with twenty-five pieces of cannon of ordnance, which they laid out on land. They were aided, as I have said, by the King of Jor and a number of petty kings, his vassals, who invested the place on the land side with 60,000 men : for he is a puissant king that holds all the territory and lands beyond Malaca. This siege lasted for the space of three months and nineteen days. The place was well defended by a very valiant Portuguese gentleman, named *André Furtado de Mendoza*, who happened to be there by chance.¹ For he looked forward to nothing in the Indies short of the post of viceroy, the which he soon after obtained.² He had with him but a hundred and fifty men under arms, including Portuguese and Indians.³ But what was a good thing for the besieged was that there were there some merchant ships of Japan, manned by Japanese, who are the best soldiers in all the Indies : these helped to make up this number of a hundred and fifty men for the defence. It turned out happily, too, for the besieged that the viceroy of Goa, without knowing anything of the siege of Malaca, had put an armada to sea, whereof he himself took the command⁴; he was named *Don Martin Alphonça de Castro*. This armada consisted of seventy ships, and was in two divisions ; the galleys, galiots, and vessels driven by oars went together,

¹ A mistake ; he had been captain of Malacca nearly three years (*Liv. das Monç.*, i, 7).

² He became Governor of India on the 27th May 1609, but held office only three months.

³ The Dutch account says that he had eighty Portuguese to start with, and that during the siege two vessels, one containing eighty more Portuguese, managed to run the blockade and reach the town.

⁴ The viceroy was ordered to proceed in person to Malacca and the Moluccas by an *alvará* of the king, dated 15th March 1605 (*Arch. Port. Or.*, Fasc. 6, No. 46).

and the round sailing ships by themselves. This armada is considered to have been the finest the Portuguese ever put on the sea in the Indies, for it consisted of near 15,000 men well equipped.¹ He departed from Goa in the month of May 1606, having left the government of Goa and of Northern India in the hands of the archbishop of Goa, *Don Alexis de Melsio*.² A month after the viceroy's departure, the two armadas met and joined near Sumatra, as had been arranged. The intention was to take and conquer that island, because the king had given access to the Hollanders, and was a great enemy to the Portuguese; but they were valiantly repulsed and beaten by the King of Achen and his following, among whom were also some Hollanders who did him good service, both in action and in counsel. Meanwhile the viceroy, having news of the siege of Malaca, departed from Sumatra to go thither, thinking to surprise the Hollanders on land and burn their ships; but he did not make this out, for the said Hollanders were warned by one of their factors, that was at Sumatra, and promptly left to give them notice; but there was no need of him, for the Hollanders had always a pinnace seven or eight leagues out at sea to act as a sentinel, for fear of being surprised. As soon as this pinnace was aware of the armada, she went speedily and brought word to the Hollanders, who forthwith re-embarked themselves and their cannon, insomuch that the siege was thus raised the 19th³ of the month of August. But this was the cause also that the Hollanders had an ill reputation and little credit among these Indian kings: for they had promised the King of Jor

¹ An exaggeration: the municipality of Goa, in their letter of 1606 to the king, state the force as 3,000 men (*Arch. Port. Or.*, Fasc. 1, Pte. ii, No. 11). Faria y Sousa says the fleet consisted of 12 gallions, 4 galleys, and 70 other vessels. Matelief's relation is 16 or 17 gallions, 4 galleys, and 15 or 16 fustas.

² Misprint for *Menezes*.

³ Really the 17th; the battle which ensued was fought on the 19th.

and the others that they would without fail take Malacca, and drive the Portuguese thence; and, indeed, it was on their account all these kings made war upon the Portuguese, being aforetime very good friends with them. And, what was worse, the Captain Corneille raised the siege and re-embarked his men without giving notice to the King of Jor, whom he left to the mercy of the Portuguese, and at war with them.

The Hollanders, then, having raised the siege, set sail towards the viceroy, whom meeting, they fought with great fury for the space of two days. The Hollander captain was brave and valiant, and was esteemed as such by all the Portuguese and Indians, for he could not have done better than he did. He found himself in great difficulty one time, when a Portuguese vessel had come up with his, and seized her with iron grapples and hooks, in such sort that it was nigh impossible to get disengaged. Fire had already broken out in both vessels, which had like to have been burned there with all hands, had not the Hollander general called to the Portuguese captain that it was not the part of a brave cavalier to let themselves be burned so, and that it were better to separate the one from the other and stand off. The captain refused, having his orders under pain of death to get burned and lost himself, so as he destroyed an enemy's ship, rather than surrender; yet what at length made him consent was that the boats of the Hollanders were coming to take off their people, while none of the Portuguese were coming for theirs: wherefore they quitted their hold, and both were saved. But thereafter the Portuguese captain lost his head for this business.¹ A large number of men fell on both sides, but six Portuguese to one Hollander.

At the last the Hollanders remained victorious, without losing more than two ships, that were burnt, along with two

¹ A mistake; Dom Henrique de Noronha, the captain in question, was highly praised for his conduct, and afterwards became captain of Ormuz (*Liv. das Monç.*, i, 826).

other ships of the viceroy, who, now that the siege was raised, incontinently returned to Malaca with the remains of his fleet, and a month afterwards died there of dysentery.¹ The Hollanders also retired with their honour, as did the King of Jor and his allies. Thus Malaca remained free, and was afterwards very strongly fortified; indeed, they are still continually fortifying it.

The Portuguese lost a great number of brave and valiant captains, and much honour in this affair; and had great losses,² for their whole army was put to rout. Among others they lost two lords that were brothers and great captains, one called *Don Fernando* and the other *Don Petro Mascaregne*,³ with two of their younger brothers. Never was there among the Portuguese so much regret for any men, a regret which lasts even to this day: it was even greater than for the viceroy, who died soon after of sorrow and melancholy; and a wonderful thing it was that thirteen vessels did such execution.⁴

The town is the richest and busiest in all the Indies, after Goa and Ormus, owing to the great cargoes from China, Japan, the Moluccas, and all the Sunda which are landed there. For all that, living is very dear.

¹ Only a few lines down he says that he died of sorrow and melancholy. The statement here is more probable, for the date of his death is quite wrong; De Castro did not die till the 3rd June 1607.

² The Dutch intercepted letters in which the loss of 521 Portuguese was acknowledged; no less than 6,000 are said to have perished in the siege.

³ The brothers Mascarenha were on board the *S. Nicholas*, 800 tons, Dom Fernando being her captain. She was attacked by three Dutch ships, and taken. Out of her crew of 265 Portuguese, besides natives, only eight survived (Matelief's voyage, in *Rec. des Voy.*, vol. iii).

⁴ He does not mention Matelief's further exploits. After cruising about for some weeks, he was again before Malacca on the 20th October, and he attacked the Portuguese ships in the very harbour. After some desperate fighting, the Dutch burnt three gallions, and next day the viceroy burnt three more, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. In this fight the Portuguese lost upwards of 400 men.

The inhabitants of the country are handsome men, well made and proportioned according to their stature, which is of the middle height, as also are their women. They are of a swarthy complexion, and go naked from the waist upwards, while below they have gowns of cotton and silk, the over-gown reaching only to the knees. They are girt with a rich girdle, and carry daggers exceeding richly garnished. As for the women, they are attired in silk cloths, and have their shifts full short: they wear their hair long, and well adorned with precious stones, and an abundance of flowers interlaced.

They are for the most part Mahometans, albeit there are nowadays a great number of Christians. The Jesuit Fathers have a very fine college there.

The air of this country is bad, intemperate, and sickly; even the natives are more subject to illness there than in any place in India. Few foreigners escape the sickness, and it is a great chance if they die not: at least notable marks of it remain; for instance, some lose their hair, others their skin—that is, such as have made a long sojourn. The soldiers there are almost all like those of Ceylon, that is, men exiled and banished for their misdeeds. As for the merchants, the desire of the great profits to be made causes them to hazard their lives; they return thence with a complexion of lead, and are never well again. The people of those parts are called *Malays*, as well in the land of Malaca as at Sumatra; they have a language that is spread over all the islands of Sunda: in all these parts it is the only one, and it is the most widespread and useful of all the Indian tongues.

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CHAPTER XII.

Of the islands of Sunda—Sumatra, and Java,—and the towns of Bantan and Tuban; the islands of Madura, Bally, the Moluccas, and Banda.

The Portuguese call all the islands beyond Malaca, *la Sonde*, as one should say, “the sea and islands of the South”.¹ Under this name are comprised Sumatra, Java, the Moluccas, and all the other islands of those coasts.

As for the island of *Sumatra*, I will not tarry to describe it, for I did not touch there, and merely passed in sight of it. It is situated under the Equinoctial line, which intersects it; it is of exceeding great compass, for it extends from the fifth degree on the north side to the sixth degree of southern latitude, that is, about the same as the Maldives, from which it is distant some six hundred leagues. As for the inhabitants, some are Mahometans, chiefly those that live by the sea-shore; the others are Gentiles. They are fond of traffic, wherefore all merchants are welcomed among them. The Arabs and other Mahometans resort thither and trade more than all other: the Portuguese go there too, but little, for they are not liked by the king. The Hollanders keep a factory there, and some factors. The country is very rich in pepper, which is larger than that of Malabar, but the latter nevertheless is more esteemed all over the Indies. But in this island there is such abundance that they can sometimes load thirty ships in one year. There is gold both in the mountains and the river-sands;

¹ They were called the Sunda islands, but not with this meaning, vol. i, p. 160. Sunda is the western part of Java, the people being distinct from the Javanese in race and language (Yule, *Gloss.*, s. v. “Sunda”). There is some confusion in the author’s mind. The Portuguese called the Eastern Archipelago and the Pacific generally by the name *Mar do Sul*. Also in the East India Company’s records, down to the early part of last century, those regions are always termed “the South Sea”.

but this gold is very base, more so than any other found in India. They coin money of it, one side whereof has the figure of a pagoda, and the other that of a chariot drawn by elephants. This great island contains many kingdoms, but the most powerful is that of Achen.

When I passed by there, the reigning king was quite young; he had by force dispossessed his father of the kingdom, and made himself master of it, holding his father prisoner for a long time, and his mother too, even with irons on their feet.¹ His brother, whom he had driven forth, made war upon him, but at present they are agreed, for certain lands have been apportioned to him forty leagues beyond, and there he dwells. This king of Achen is very fond of the Hollanders, who have built there many houses; it is even the fixed place for all the ships of Holland that are in the Indies, where they have their staple for trading, and for the lading and unlading of merchandise; they keep there a number of factors, who drive a great trade. But he will not hear mention of the Portuguese, with whom he has had always, and has even now, war to the death.

Yet it is strange that this king has never been able to come to terms with the Portuguese, seeing that he agrees well with all other foreigners. Sometimes, indeed, some private Portuguese merchants are to be found there; but they have no favour with the king, and, indeed, never see him.

When the Hollanders first went to the Indies they had war with this king,² and for this cause sacked two Arabian ships laden with spices, wherewith they laded their own; but afterwards the Hollanders and he became good friends,

¹ Ali Maghayat Shah, son of Aladdin, a usurper, seized the throne in 1604.

² See the account of the Moucheron voyage of 1598-1600 in Davis's *Voy.*, Hak. Soc. The raja of Achen did not become friendly with the Dutch till about 1608.

and, indeed, he sent six ambassadors to Holland, the Hollanders leaving (as many of) theirs as hostages with him. These ambassadors were exceeding well received and honoured in Holland, and returned to Achen, but not all of them, for four died by the way, and I saw one of the two that got back at the island of Malé.

These Arabs that were pillaged at Achen by the Hollanders, seeing that the King of Achen and all the other Mahometan kings were in very good understanding with the Hollanders, and mortal enemies of the Portuguese, bethought themselves to send deputies to Holland to treat for peace and friendship with the Estates, and to demand satisfaction and justice for their stolen property: insomuch that they obtained their satisfaction and were reimbursed for their loss; though it was then about seven years after the seizure was made. And from that time the Hollanders have been at all times in good friendship with all the Indians.

But in truth what did us much harm at the first, and took away much of the good repute of the French, English, and Hollanders in this country (for in the Indies we are all considered alike, seeing that we are all friends among ourselves and enemies of the Portuguese) was, that there was brought to Sunda, or islands of the South, a quantity of false pieces of forty Spanish sols, which were made on board the ships. The Hollanders accused the English, and the English cast the blame on the others: however the fact was, the Hollanders paid dear for it, for the voyage after, a goodly number of them were killed at several places; and since then the Indians have not trusted them so much, and the rumour has spread over the whole of India that we are all cheats. But to return to the King of Achen, the Hollanders and he since their agreement have had always a good understanding; while he has always troubled the Portuguese as much as he could, as have also the kings of Jor, Bantan, and Java Major. All people in the Indies or on the

other side the Cape of Good Hope, when they would go to Sumatra, merely say that they are going to Achen: for this city and port has acquired all the name and reputation of the island; and it is the same in Great Java with Bantan, so that only those two kings are spoken of.

The King of Achen has many times laid siege to Malaca, as also has the King of Jor. He is a formidable person, as he showed himself when he was attacked by the viceroy *Dom Martin Alphõça de Castro*, for he defended himself so well, and such a number of Portuguese were slain and drowned, that the viceroy had nothing for it but to retire with his loss of honour and men. That was a bad omen, for thereafter he went to Malaca to meet his end, as I have said. But this king had great service also of the Hollanders that were then at Achen, though they were few in number. For they gave him counsel as to intrenchments and fortifications after the fashion of Holland and France, and a good supply of cannon, whereof the king now has no lack, and I should never have believed there were so many cannon in the Indies as he has there. After this attack and skirmish, the Hollanders conducted themselves so well, and with such sincerity, that the king has begun to have a great affection for them.

The island of Java is at the southern end of Sumatra, turning away toward the east, and separated by only a narrow arm of the sea, whereof the beginning is under the seventh degree towards the south. It is a very great, rich, and wealthy island, containing many kingdoms. The most renowned is that of Bantan; also it is more resorted to than any other part. The Portuguese galiots going toward the Moluccas, as I did, sojourn there a while; this gave me an opportunity of seeing the country.

Bantan is a great city, thickly peopled, situate on the sea at the very end of the island, and near the strait (called the Strait of Sunda, which I believe has given its name to all this sea) that separates Java from Sumatra, from which it

is distant only five-and-twenty leagues. On both sides of the town flows a river which bathes and surrounds it, and then falls into the sea. It is very broad there, but being only four fathoms in depth, is not navigable. The town is surrounded with brick walls, of not more than two feet in thickness. Every hundred paces near the walls are very lofty erections raised upon ship-masts, serving in the defence of the town, both as watch-towers and for firing at long range and with better command and view upon an enemy attempting to approach. These buildings are constructed of canes, the pillars being of wood, and are covered with palm-leaves. The rich and well-to-do have their houses hung on all sides with tapestries and curtains of silk, or of cotton cloth nicely painted. There are five large spaces, wherein every day is held the market of all sorts of merchandise and provisions, which are cheap, and living is therefore very good there. The fruits and animals are all similar to those of the other Indian countries whereof I have so often spoken, and are very cheap here. The town is situate on low and marshy ground, being between two arms of the river, so that for the most part of the winter the river is all overflowed throughout the town, and one cannot go through the streets but by boats. The streets are not paved: in nearly all parts of the town there are quantities of coco-trees. Outside the walled enclosure are a great number of houses for the foreigners.¹

¹ On the arrival of the Dutch under Houtman in 1596, the Portuguese had a factory at Bantam, but were not on good terms with the king. Houtman ingratiated himself with the latter, and was enabled to establish a factory. The king, however, maintained his independence, and welcomed Lancaster in 1603, permitting the English also to found a factory. The English alliance was afterwards cemented by a treaty, and for many years Bantam was the chief presidency of the English in the East, the agencies at Madras, Bengal, and Surat being made subordinate. The Dutch meantime had taken the neighbouring town of Jacatra and built on its ruins the city of Batavia. By their greater

As for their religion, the most part are Mahometans : there are, however, great numbers of Gentiles and idolaters. There is a great mosque in the town where is practised the law of Mahomet ; the lords and gentlemen have each his temple in his own house : the doctors or Cadis come thither from Arabia.

The inhabitants are of a yellowish colour ; they are habited in a cotton or silk cloth, which they wear all around the body from the waist downwards ; on the head they wear a little turban passed twice round.

Their arms are daggers or poniards, called by them *Cris* : the blade is waved, and is a dangerous weapon ; the end of the haft is in the form of a demon, or some other hideous figure ; the sheath is wooden, and of one piece. These daggers are finely adorned with gold and precious stones, and are worn at the side by all, high and low : it would be considered a disgrace not to wear it. When they go to war they carry swords and bucklers, and a sheaf of arrows, which they dart with the hand. They are a very stubborn race, also exceeding proud in their gait, and great liars and thieves.¹

The men are exceeding idle ; the slaves do the greater part of their business. The gentlemen and rich burghers have their gardens and country houses, where their slaves labour and till the soil, bringing in the fruits and revenues to their masters, who ordinarily busy themselves with nought, but sitting amid their wives—whereof each has a plurality—and constantly chewing betel ; likewise their

energy and stronger naval force they engrossed the spice trade, and made the position of the English at times intolerable. Finally, in 1682, they fomented an insurrection of the son of the King of Bantam, and succeeded in forcing the English to retire (1683). The Dutch gradually annexed the whole of Java, while the English turned their attention to Sumatra, where they formed agencies at Achen, Priaman, Bencoolen, Fort Marlborough, etc.

¹ Lancaster says he traded there very peaceably, “although the Javians be reckoned among the greatest pickers and thieves of the world” (*Voy.*, p. 100).

wives do nothing else. The female slaves play upon divers instruments before them, singing and striking basins melodiously ; and to this music the wives dance one after another in presence of their husband, doing each the best she can, and striving to please him : for she that pleases him the most then, sleeps the following night with him. They also pass a great part of their time in washing and bathing, and remain long in the water : this renders the river unhealthful and bad for drinking, by reason of so many people washing and tarrying in it. For the rest, the women of quality are carefully guarded by the eunuchs, who are very numerous and are bought for the purpose. The beds are suspended, and they are rocked in them as are the residents at the Maldives. This town is thronged with many people, for there is great traffic and commerce there carried on by all sorts of foreigners, as well Christians as Indians ; for instance, Arabs, Guzerates, Malabars, men of Bengala and Malaca. These come there chiefly in search of pepper, which grows abundantly in this island, and is usually worth only one sol the pound. I have seen many Chinese settled there and carrying on a great trade ; and every year in the month of January come nine or ten great ships from China laden with silk stuffs, cotton cloth, gold, porcelain, musk, and a thousand other kinds of merchandise from their country. These Chinese have built there handsome houses for their lodging, till such time as they shall have finished their trading and become rich ; to attain which end, there is no vile or disgraceful job they will not put their hands to—they are like the Jews in their manner of trading. Then, having filled their pockets, they return to China. On their arrival they buy women slaves, and on their return sell them back, taking away with them the children they have had. Also they observe a rule never to bury any of their dead either there or in any other foreign land ; after salting and embalming them they carry them off.

The Hollanders have at present in this town many houses that they have built; they also keep there a factory and factors for managing their trade: for the king had an affection toward them, and the people love them. The king has his residence in the town. He is exceeding kindly and courteous. He has numerous wives, who are guarded with great rigour, for none are permitted to see them, or to enter their apartments; even should it be his own son, he could not see the king's wives nor enter where they are, else he would be put to death.

On the death of a man all his goods go to the king: his wife and children are his slaves, unless the latter were married and living apart from their father's house, or unless the king in return for some present, or to gratify the father, gives them their liberty, and sends them letters to that effect.

There is another great kingdom in the island of Java, whereof the principal town is called *Tuban*,¹ a town situate on the sea-shore, all surrounded and enclosed with walls. It is a very fine town, and a busy one too: pepper is very cheap there. They say that the King of Tuban is so powerful that when he wills to go to war, he can in four-and-twenty hours assemble 30,000 men, horse and foot. He is ever accompanied by a great number of his gentlemen, and keeps up a very gay court. You see there many elephants and horses.

We went thence to the island of *Madura*, which is on the northern side of Java, small, but fertile in rice, supplying some of the neighbouring isles therewith. There is a little town, very neat and well walled, called *Arosbay*. It obeys a king of its own. The inhabitants are equipped and armed in the Javan fashion: they are resolute, good soldiers, but great robbers, as well on shore as afloat.

From Madura we set sail, and stood out so as to reach

¹ On the north coast, in long. 112° E.

the Moluccas. We cast anchor at the island of *Bally*,¹ where we tarried some time, and thence completed our voyage to the Moluccas.

The island of Bally is situate quite near Java toward the east. It is fertile in rice, abounding with fowls and pigs, which are very good and delicate, and in vast numbers. Other animal food exists, but very lean and poor. There are many horses. Except foods, no merchantable stuffs grow there. The inhabitants are Gentiles and idolaters, but without any rule or fixed ceremonial, for one worships a cow, another the sun, another a stone—each what he wills. The women burn themselves when their husbands die. As for their dress, it is the same as at Bantan. Their arms also are poniards; besides which they carry in their hands a pike and a *sarbatane*² two fathoms long, and in this behalf they have a case full of little darts to blow with the sarbatans; these weapons are exceeding dangerous when used against naked men. Moreover, they are very hostile to the Portuguese and

¹ Bâli, in which island, as the author seems to have some notion, Hinduism was maintained. The best scientific description of the island is that by Mr. R. Friedrich, translated in the *J. R. As. Soc.* (New Series), vols. viii and ix.

² "*Sarbataine*, a long trunk to shoot in; also the musical instrument called a Sagbut" (*Cotgrave*). It is a very old weapon (see Ducange, *Gloss.*, s. v. "*Zarabotana*"). Among the less civilised races its use is localised in the Eastern Archipelago and in South America. As to the former, Varthema (p. 254) speaks of the *Zarabottane* in use in Java; OJoric describes it, but not by name (*Cathay*, p. 91). Barros mentions "*armas de Zaravatanas hervadas*"; and Houtman, also writing of Java, says, "*Ils usent aussi des Serbataines par lesquelles soufflent fleschettes envenimeez*." See, too, a cut in Churchill (*Voy.*, vol. ii), showing its use by the natives of Macassar. As to South America, see Hans Stade (*Hak. Soc.*, p. 55). It is much used by the Indians of Guiana, the pipe being from 8 to 14 feet in length, the dart of 8 inches, barbed with the teeth of a fish, and poisoned. The certainty with which they take aim with this long weapon, supported only by one hand, is wonderful (Im Thurm's *Guiana*, pp. 245-7, 300-2). In modern times it has been reintroduced with us as the toy weapon, the "puff and dart".

to the Moors. This island obeys a king of its own, who lives with more magnificence than he of Bantan. His guards carry pikes pointed with fine gold; and when he goes forth it is in a chariot drawn by two white buffaloes.

As for the Moluccas, they are a number of islands fertile in spices. The following are the names of the islands which alone are comprised under this title¹:—*Ternate, Amboin, Maquian, Bassian, Meau, Morigoran, Gilolo, Catel, and Tidor*; they are all, as it were, in the same canton, being quite close to each other. They are barren in food-products, which are scarce and very dear there, because they come from abroad. No kind of grain grows there. They make meal of the wood of a tree they call *Sagou*,² whereof all the people make certain pastry and cates, which are very good and very delicate when fresh made. There are some cocos and bananas, abundance of orange and lime trees, and very large almond trees: of the latter they make nice almond and sugar cakes which are sold in the markets.

But above all, there is there a marvellous quantity of cloves, which grow in no other part of the world but in these islands, and they are all covered with them: for which cause they are frequented by foreign merchants of all races, who come there from all quarters of the world to get that spice, both Christians and Chinese, Indians and Arabs. There are many parrots there of divers plumages, and exceeding beautiful.

In manners and customs, arms and dress, the inhabitants resemble those of Java and Sumatra: for all the people of the parts beyond Malaca, and called by the Portuguese *la Sonda*, differ nowise in features, colour, dress, language, or

¹ The name Moluccas is more properly restricted still further to the five small islands west of Gilolo, viz., Ternaté, Tidoré, Motir, Makian, and Bachian (see Yule, *Gloss.*, s. v., and authors cited in Middleton's *Voy.*, Hak. Soc., App. xvi).

² *Sago*, Malay *sāgū*, made of the pith of particular species of palm (see quotations in Yule, *Gloss.*, s. v.).

customs,—in fact, they are the same people. The religion is the Mahometan. They are a very simple folk, but courageous and valiant withal. *Ternate* is the chief Island¹: it is full thirty leagues in compass, and grows more cloves than the others. It is ruled by a king of its own, and in former days the King of Ternate was king of all, but now each island has an independent king.² The Hollanders since a few years ago have occupied two, *Amboin* and *Tidor*, dispossessing the Portuguese.³ As for Ternate, the king of that island drove the Portuguese from their fort there, but the Spaniards from the Philippine Islands or Manilla reconquered it,⁴ and have now a treaty with him. So at the present day the Portuguese have no longer the disposal of the cloves: this vexes them much, and they have a plea of this matter against the Spaniards in the Council of the King of Spain. I have sojourned only at Ternate; as for the others, I have passed within sight of most of them.

In the same parts is another island, which I have visited, very celebrated for one sort of spice: it is *Banda*, distant four-and-twenty leagues from Amboin,—very fertile in nutmegs and mace. This place supplies the whole world with these products, for they grow nowhere else, save some trees

¹ And so immortalised with Tidore by Milton, who, like Pyrard, makes them both dissyllables:—

“Close sailing from Bengala, or the isles
Of Ternate and Tidore, whence merchants bring
Their spicy drugs,” etc.—(*P. L.*, ii, 638.)

² Most early travellers, *e.g.*, Barbosa, dwell on the fact that each had its own king, and Col. Yule suggests as the probable origin of the name Moluccas, *Jazīrat-al-Mulūk*, “the isles of the kings”.

³ Steven van der Hagen took the Portuguese fort at Amboyna on the 21st February, and that at Tidore on 14th May 1605 (*Rec. des Voy.*, vol. iii). They never lost hold of Amboyna, but were driven from Tidore by the Spaniards in 1611.

⁴ In April 1606. For an account of this Spanish expedition, and for the consequent ill-feeling between the Portuguese and Spaniards, see De Morga's *Philippine Islands*, p. 249, *et seq.*

that are planted out of curiosity, as I have seen at Goa and other places. On this account many foreign merchants from all parts resort thither. It has an independent king; the inhabitants are Mahometans, brave and warlike, and of the same dress and customs as those of the other islands and the adjacent countries.

It would be impossible to mention in detail all the islands in this sea of Sunda—or “Southern Sea”, as the Portuguese call it—by reason of their great number, small and great; making the navigation very difficult with their sands, shoals, and straits, so that you must have good and experienced pilots—natives of the islands if possible; and yet, with all that, you will often run aground and get wrecked. Further, none dare sail but by day only, for as soon as night approaches you must cast anchor somewhere; otherwise you may get wrecked in the night, and even while sailing by day you must always keep the lead in hand.

CHAPTER XIII.

Of the singular things that are brought from the islands of Sumatra, Java, Borneo, and from the Philippines and Manilla. Of China and Japan, and of the traffic carried on at Goa.

The three principal and largest of these islands are Sumatra, Great Java,¹ and Borneo, which are the largest of all that ocean, next to the island of *St. Lawrence*, which is deemed to be the greatest of all. All the peoples of these

¹ The Java Major of Barbosa (p. 197), of N. Conti (*India in the XV Cent.*, ii, 15), and of Ortelius, *i.e.*, Java proper. By Java Minor (originally applied to Sumatra), at a later time some seem to have meant Sumbawa, some Timor, and some Bāli, but this need not concern us here (see Yule's *Marco Polo*, Bk. III, c. 9, and *Glossary*, s. v.).

islands in their disposition, manners, features, and language, approach those of the mainland of Malaca, which leads me to conjecture that these islands have been peopled by the Malays. The other islands are innumerable, lying quite near each other, all inhabited or but few not so, and each having a separate king, and some having more than one. They are fertile in peculiar fruits and merchandise, such as spices and other drugs that are found nowhere else; and excepting Sumatra and Java, which are fertile of all things, the rest abound only in one particular thing and are sterile of all else. So this one product wherewith they abound must furnish them with everything else; this is why all kinds of food are very dear, save their own product, which is cheap, and why these people are constrained to keep up continual intercourse with one another, the one supplying what the other wants.

In Sumatra and Java grow many things that are very good and valuable; the chief traffic is in pepper, theirs being larger than that of the Malabar coast, because, as I believe, these islands are farther toward the east and nearer the line, and the soil is moistened by more copious dews than the mainland. Banda yields mace and nutmegs; the Moluccas, cloves; Borneo, camphor and benjamin¹; and so with the rest, all producing something peculiar. I content myself with speaking of them altogether, because they are inhabited by the same people, and lie under nearly the same parallel and climate, with the same temperature or intemperature. The air is not very healthy, but rather the reverse; and food is very dear—nay, very frequently cannot be got for money; for the supply by sea is not to be depended on. The people are treacherous, perfidious, and choleric, so that for a mere

¹ "A kind of incense derived from the resin of the *Styrax benzoin*; it got from the Arab traders the name of *lubān-Jāwī*, 'Java frankincense', corrupted in the middle ages" into the above and other forms (Yule, *Gloss.*, s. v.).

trifle they make no scruple to kill a man with the *cris* or poniard which they always carry. Traffic with them is carried on in fear and peril. The Hollanders, Portuguese, and other foreigners are obliged to run risks in trading with them, but those of their own faith do not, many of these having been cheated, and even some of the foreigners; but the greed of gain causes them to forget.¹

The Portuguese of Malaca have clerks and factors in all the islands for trade. The inhabitants, too, are wont to go with their vessels laden to Malaca, which is the magazine and staple of all that merchandise, the commerce wherein is marvellously great, and carried on both by money and by the exchange of other products of all these islands from the Cape of Good Hope to China, with an infinite number of ships. They come there from the countries of the Abexis, from Arabia, Persia, Ormuz, Surate, Guzeratte, Cambaye, Goa, Malabar, Bengala, China, Japan, and all other parts of the Indian coasts. Now, too, the French and Hollanders also come thither for this same traffic in excellent fruits and drugs, whereof the flowers are very aromatic and odoriferous. For while the flowers are yet on the trees in their force and vigour, it is a marvel to smell the sweet scents which they exhale, wherewith the air is so full filled that the wind bears them six or seven leagues away.² But amongst all, the cloves bear off the prize; yet does it cost men dear to go for them,

¹ In original : "Les Holandois, Portugais et autres estrangers sont contrains de s'y fier pour le trafic, non pas ceux de leur loy, dont plusieurs y ont esté attrapez, et des estrangers mesmes, mais le desir de gagner fait oublier tout."

² The "spicy breezes" of the poets and poetic travellers are a great annoyance to prosaic modern writers, *e.g.*, Tennent (*Ceylon*, i, 4); Milton fables his "Sabeian odours from the spicy shore Of Araby the Blest" (*P. L.*, iv, 163), as being felt off at sea near Mozambique; Heber's spicy breezes only "blow soft o'er Ceylon's isle". The sensitive P. and O. passenger catches them quite six or seven leagues off Galle or Colombo; while the cynical old resident insists that they are only appreciable in the vicinity of a native bazaar.

seeing that sometimes they lose their lives or endure great sufferings in the quest.

The imports to these islands are cotton, cotton cloths, all kinds of silk cloth and stuffs, raw silk, rice, fish, butter, oils, munitions of war, arms, silver itself, and other things. The Hollanders and all others when they would go to these islands, go first to the coast of Guzerate, Saint Thomas, Massulipatan, and Bengala, to buy cotton cloths, upon which they make a double profit: for they gain on their own merchandise in the first instance, and then on their second cargo that they carry to these islands. But if these Malay islanders are cunning rogues, the Chinese are even more so, for all the silver that is brought to these islanders from all sides, the Chinese get into their own hands and carry off to China, giving them nothing in exchange but their worthless goods, bagatelles, and counterfeit gems. The Spaniards and Portuguese allege the same of the Flemings and Hollanders, who bring them nothing but baubles and toys, but will carry away in exchange from Spain only gold and silver, as they do also in France.

With regard to the Philippine islands that come next, not having been there I will say only in passing what I have been able to learn among the Portuguese. By them they are called *Islas de Manilla*; by the Castilians, the *Philippines*; and by the Indians, *Luçon*, from the principal island which is called Luçon. There are a great number more, each having a separate name. The Castilians have discovered and conquered them,¹ and have given them the name of their king. The Portuguese give them that of Manilla, from the principal town thus named, where the chief trade is carried

¹ They were taken by a Spanish expedition from New Spain in 1571. A full account of their conquest and government is given by De Morga, whose work, first published at Mexico in 1609, has been edited for the Hak. Soc. by Lord Stanley. From the opening chapter it seems that Spain proposed to give the name Philippines to the whole archipelago, including the Moluccas and Borneo.

on. It is at fifteen degrees north. The people are immigrants from China, as are also the people of Japan. The Spaniards possess them, and have there a viceroy and a bishop, both of whom have their residence at the town of Manilla, where Christianity is well advanced.

The Spaniards of Mexico, New Spain, and Peru come there by way of the South Sea. These islands are fertile in foods and fruits, but abound also with merchantable commodities. There is found there much civet¹; also those tortoises whose shell is in such demand in the Indies, being found nowhere in all the Indies but there and at the Maldives, as I have said elsewhere; there is great traffic in this at Cambaye and Guzerate. So it is that the Spaniards hold these islands not for their own value, but solely in order to carry on trade and commerce with the Chinese; for as foreigners are not permitted to frequent the mainland of China, it is necessary to have some other place as a receptacle and staple for the merchandise brought by the Chinese. For this purpose the Portuguese hold the island of *Macao*.

The Spaniards have there a *Contratador* for the interchange of the goods of China and the East Indies. This renders these islands marvellously rich; but at the same time diminishes the commerce of Spain with the West Indies, for the cloth and silk fabrics of Spain are no longer carried thither as they were wont to be before this trade was established. The King of Spain also tried to prevent this result, permitting only certain ships to trade with Manilla, as he does at Goa. But the Chinese protested that if it were to be so they would have no intercourse with them either in the east or in the west, so that the king has been obliged to let the trade proceed in its natural course.² A

¹ "The natives have another means of gain; bringing much profit, for there are many civet cats, though smaller than those of Guinea" (De Morga, *Phil. Isl.*, p. 286).

² De Morga, who gives a full account of the trade of the Philippines (pp. 336-44), bears out all these statements. The King of Spain did

great quantity of silver is drawn from the West Indies to China. The Spaniards of the Manillas carry on a trade in the South Sea with the Portuguese of India, but pass not to this side of the Cape and Port of Malaca. I believe that more than thirty or forty ships come there every year from China and the Manilla islands. The Portuguese and Spaniards in their trading in this sea agree passably well. The Spaniards keep to themselves that fair and excellent island of the Moluccas called Ternate.¹

From the city of Goa, where the merchandise from all parts of the Indies and Portugal is laden and unladen, the viceroy, in accordance with the king's standing order, despatches every year two or three vessels to China and Japan. Sometimes they go only to China ; sometimes to both. By China is meant Macao only, which is an island and town inhabited by the Portuguese, with some number of Chinese. This place is the staple and emporium of all the merchandise from China and other parts of the world.

This Indian traffic is not allowed to all the Portuguese at all places ; for that of China, Japan, Malaca, Mozembic, and Ormus is for none but the ships of the King of Spain, save sometimes in order to reward some lord, captain, or other officer, the king gives him leave to make one trading voyage with one or two vessels or more ; but this is only for some signal service and in the case of a grandee. In these vessels go many private merchants for trade. These pay

not prohibit Chinese trade at the Manillas, but, in order to protect Spanish trade with Spanish America, he prohibited any persons of New Spain or Peru from trading with the Philippines, or from bringing Chinese goods to America. By thus protecting the trade of Spain he intended to conciliate the Spanish colony of the Philippines by giving them the monopoly of their island trade. But the result was that, the merchants of New Spain being interdicted, the Philippine trade largely fell into the hands of the Dutch, English, and Portuguese (De Morga, *u. s.* ; Cocks' *Diary, passim*).

¹ See above, p. 166.

their ship expenses and the freight to the lord of the voyage, also the principal royal dues; for the king bestows these voyages free of everything, except some particular dues which must be paid to the *renderes*,¹ or farmers of the customs and tariffs.² They are, however, exempt from many exactions that are otherwise and elsewhere paid upon all goods. The principal cargo carried from Goa to Macao is silver; for in China silver is in great demand, and most of the silver that is taken from Europe by way of Ormus to the East Indies goes to China. So, too, that which comes from the direction of Japan, from the West Indies (by way of the South Sea), and from the Philippine Islands or Manillas, the last-named place being the staple for goods passing between the West Indies and China (by the said South Sea), as from Peru, New Spain, Mexico, Chili, and other places in those parts, inso-much that, as it is reckoned, there enters China every year more than seven millions worth of gold in silver. The Chinese, too, never let so much as a testoon³ go out again, for they melt all this silver into ingots, and keep all their treasure in silver, and not in gold, which is vastly common and cheap there. The best silver in the Indies is that which comes from Persia by way of Ormus in (the form of) a long coin, called *larins*, which the smiths of India prize highly, and use to their great advantage, being a very pure, clean, soft, and ductile silver, and good for working. Next to it, that of Japan is the best, being also pliant. That from the West Indies is the worst, being hard, rough, and less purified than the former.

¹ Port. *rendeiros*, tax-gatherers or farmers.

² Fr. *Pancarte*, "papier affiché qui contenait le tarif de certains droits" (*Littre*); "a paper containing the particular rates of tolls, or customes due unto the king, etc." (*Cotgrave*).

³ "*Teston*, a testoon, a piece of silver coin worth 18*d.* sterling" (*Cotgrave*). The English testoon of Henry VIII was worth only 6*d.*, and latterly only 4½*d.*; the name is now obsolete, except in its slang corruption, "tizzy".

The ships leaving Goa are laden not only with silver, but with divers goods of Europe, such as wines, woollen fabrics, and among others, red scarlet, all sorts of glass and crystal wares, clocks (which are highly prized by the Chinese), much cotton cloth, precious stones cut and set in rings, chains, carkanets, tokens, ear-pendants, and bracelets; for the Chinese like vastly to get gems and jewels of all sorts for their wives. The ships leave Goa towards October, and touch at Cochin for precious stones and spices, such as pepper and cinnamon, leaving there the merchandise of Europe or of the northern parts of India. Thence they sail for Malaca: for they cannot make this voyage without touching at Malaca in order to get the Governor's passport, and also to purchase the merchandise of the islands of Sunda in exchange for cotton cloths and other goods of India and Europe.

Vessels making the voyage from Goa to Japan and back may reckon on taking three whole years; nor can they reckon on less by reason of the winds called by them *Monssons*, and by us *Muesons*, which prevail for six months and more, as I have said elsewhere. But this is no loss to them, for sometimes they double their money and goods, and sometimes treble them, and in some cases do even better still. From Malaca they go to Macao, and thence to Japan. At all these places they must await the Muesons; in the meantime while waiting they carry on their trade. At Macao they leave the greater part of their goods, and all their silver, relading with other goods of China, such as silks and Spanish white, which they as well as we call *aluya*¹; it is dear, and much in request in Japan, where all the women whiten the whole body with it, even down to the legs. This white comes from the island of Borneo, whence it is carried to China; there they fine and mix it, making therein very great traffic and sales to all

¹ Ceruse, Spanish white, or as we say, whiting; Port. *alvayade*. No such word as in the text appears in the French dictionaries.

parts, but more to Japan than to all the world beside. Then they carry to Japan all those China goods and some others from Europe and India, which they sell exceeding well; they bring back only silver, which they get cheap, and return to Macao to re-sell all their silver, exchanging it for other merchandise. They make a long sojourn in all those places, and then return to Malaca, where they must call; there they make another exchange of goods for those of Malaca and the islands of Sunda. Thence they return to Goa, or whatever other place the master of the ship belongs to. It is impossible to tell all the great riches and all the rare and beautiful things which these ships bring back; among others they bring much gold in ingots, which the Portuguese call *pandoro*.¹ Some gold also they have in leaf, and some in dust; also great store of gilded wood-work, such as all sorts of vessels and furniture, lacquered, varnished, and gilded with a thousand pretty designs; then all kinds of silk stuffs, good store of unwrought silk, great quantities of musk and civet, plenty of the metal called *calin*,² which is much esteemed over all the Indies, and even in Persia and elsewhere. It is as hard as silver and as white as tin, and it gets whiter with use; money is made of it at Goa and in the other Portuguese territories, and in some of the Indian,—though rarely, for all their money is of gold or silver, which also they cut into pieces to make their purchases of goods. Of this metal they make all their utensils and ornaments as we do here of silver and tin; they even use it for rings and bracelets for girls and children. They import also from thence much porcelain ware, which is used throughout India, as well by the Portuguese as by the Indians. Besides all this, many boxes, plates, and baskets made of little reeds covered with lacquer and varnished in all colours, gilded and patterned. Among other things I should mention a great number of cabinets of all patterns, in the fashion of those of Germany. This is an article the

¹ Port. *pão de ouro*.

² See vol. i, p. 235, *note*.

most perfect and of the finest workmanship to be seen anywhere; for they are all of choice woods, and inlaid with ivory, mother-of-pearl, and precious stones; in place of iron they are mounted with gold. The Portuguese call them *Escritorios de la China*.

There is also imported a great quantity of sugar, the hardest, whitest, and finest I have ever seen; great store too of wax and honey, and paper, the whitest, finest, and smoothest in the world. Then all sorts of metals, save silver; among the rest much quicksilver, from which they make great profit by transporting it to all the places where there are silver mines, for this quicksilver purifies and refines silver. So much for the trade of Goa with China, Japan, Malaca, etc. As regards the retail trade in the island of Goa, it must first be noted that it is all done by the Banians, Canarins, and other foreigners, Gentiles and Mahometans, and rarely by Portuguese, Metifs, or Christian Indians. The wholesale trade is carried on in all quarters by rich men, whether Portuguese, Christians, or other. All sales, whether wholesale or retail, are conducted by sworn brokers, who are Gentile inhabitants of Goa and the neighbourhood.

All grains, seed, and other food-stuffs that come from abroad are discharged into the *Alfandegue*, and are there sold and distributed to those that want them, as well for their own use as for sale by retail in the town and island. As soon as they are discharged into this *Alfandegue*, the officers of police come and put a price upon the several goods, according to their value; this they do with every article of food and nutriment, whether it be in large or small quantities. If the goods are not sound and fit for food, whether cooked or raw, they are confiscated and given to the prisoners and other poor Christians of the town; and in addition the sellers are fined. For you must know that every day the magistrates and officers of police do nothing else but inspect all articles of food, and none durst sell anything ere the police have first

fixed the price. Nor durst they sell aught wholesale or retail, whether food-stuffs or other thing, that have not paid tribute to the king. So it is that with merchandise of every craft, trade, or kind, however small, the power of dealing in it, making or selling it, is farmed out to the highest and last bidder. They call these farmers *Renderes*; sellers and dealers must have notes in writing from these *Renderes*, which cost them according to the value of the trade or craft. These *Renderes* or farmers are all Bramenis, Banians, and Canarins.

It is a wondrous sight, that of the vast crowd that is to be seen buying and selling from week's end to week's end at Goa, except on feast days, and in the island as well as in the town; the mighty traffic and commerce that is done there is such, indeed, that every day seems fair-day. Such as are here, severally, grocers, chandlers, apothecaries, and druggists, are there all of the same calling, which is practised altogether by men of the Brameny race, and no others. They keep all manner of drugs, as well for medicine as for food; for, excepting wine, flesh, fish, fruits, herbs, and cooked victuals, they sell all other things proper and necessary for human life, or for the food of men and horses, or for their health and healing; but they sell no cloth fabrics. At every corner of the streets and crossings there are always one or two shops.

All the Indians at Goa and elsewhere have a custom, strange and notable enough, viz., when they would make some bargain one with another, and there be some folks present whom they would not should hear the bargain and the price, nor should even have a suspicion of it, as might happen if they were to see them whispering together, they are wont to make signs under their silk or cotton mantles, which are worn like our cloaks: so touching the hands thus privily, they give one another to understand by the fingers

at what price they are willing to buy or sell, without the others knowing or being aware of anything.¹

But to return to the islands of Sunda, the Moluccas, Philippines, Japan and China; of them I could say much more, and of the excellent and strange things that are brought thence, but I content myself with having said so much in passing, leaving what remains to such as are more capable and curious than I.

Having then returned from the Sunda voyage, I remained another space at Goa, waiting an opportunity to get home. But before coming to my departure from the Indies, it seems fit, since I have given so minute a description of Goa and the other places of the Indies which I visited, that I should not omit what I observed and learnt with some study, while I was among the Portuguese, as well of their navigation, shipping, and trade, in divers parts of Africa and the Indies, as of many other singular things of the countries of Brazil in America, Angola, Mozambique, Sofala, Couesme, Melinde, Socotora, and other places on the African coast, and next of the remaining coasts of India from Ormus, Cambaye, Surat,

¹ The custom of silent bargaining exists throughout all the East, and is evidently of great antiquity. Mr. Tylor recognises in it a survival of the primitive method of counting (*Prim. Cult.*, i, 246). Varthema found it in use at Calicut (*Hak. Soc.* ed., p. 169). Tavernier describes it as general in India, and explains the method. A grasp of the whole hand signifies 1,000, and every additional squeeze another 1,000. A grasp of the five fingers only means 500; of one finger, 100; of half a finger to the middle knuckle, 50; of the finger-tip only, 10 (*Voy.*, Pt. II, Bk. II, ch. xi). M. Huc, with his usual humour, describes the chaffering on the sale of a camel in Tartary:—"They dispute by turns furiously and argumentatively as to the merits and defects of the animal, but as soon as it comes to a question of price the tongue is laid aside as a medium, and the conversation proceeds altogether in signs. They seize each other by the wrist, and, beneath the long wide sleeve of their jackets, indicate with their fingers the progress of the bargain" (*Travels in Tartary*, ch. v). A recent description of the practice will be found in the *St. James's Gazette*, 23rd March 1887.

Mogor, Diu, etc., on to China and Japan, and whatsoever memorable happened in all those places while I was in the Indies. All this I will relate briefly in the chapters following.

CHAPTER XIV.

Of the form and fashion of the Portuguese ships going to the Indies, and of their shipments, order, and police, as well going as returning.

First as to the Portuguese ships: in ordinary course three or four at most go out every year; these are the carracks, called by them *naos* "de voyage",¹ which are sent out with the intention that they shall return if they can. On extraordinary occasions, when the King of Spain wishes to send out an armada, or a viceroy out of the season, or some particular despatch, he sends other middle-sized ships, such as Biscay galleons,² French, Flemish, or English ships, or caravels³; none of these ever returns to Portugal, except there should be need to bring some special intelligence out of the usual seasons; in such cases they despatch a caravel or other middle-sized ship. If peradventure the carracks leaving Portugal for Goa fail to arrive safely there or at some other Indian port, some Biscay galleons are sent home laden with pepper and other goods. These galleons are of 700 or 800 tons

¹ Port. *náo* or *nau*. They are generally called "*naus de carreira*".

² "Le Galion", says Jal, "fut dans l'origine un vaisseau hybride. C'était, à la bien prendre une nef allongée et plus étroite du fond et des flancs qu'une nef ordinaire. Quelques galions allaient à la rame, mais c'était le très-petit nombre. La poupe du galion, à la différence de celle de la nef qui était plate, était arrondie et avait deux lobes hémisphériques, séparés par l'étambot, fondement de l'arrière et support du gouvernail. Les galions ordinaires avaient deux ponts, les plus grands en avaient trois" (*Le Moyen Age et la Renaissance*, tom. ii).

³ For a description of the caravel, see below, ch. xvi, and *note* there.

burthen or thereabouts, and are well equipped for war, and good sailers, better even than the carracks.

The carracks are all built at Lisbon, and not elsewhere, by reason of the harbour there, which is very suitable and convenient for shipment, more so than any other; this is by reason as well of the presence there of the officers and superintendents of these voyages, as of the goods, the utensils (or, as they are called, the "apparel"), the provisions (which they call "matelotage"), and the other commodities and necessities.

These carracks are ordinarily of 1,500 to 2,000 tons burthen, sometimes more, so that they are the largest vessels in the world, so far as I have been able to learn; they cannot float in less than ten fathoms of water. There are some ships in the Indies, but very few, coming from Arabia, Surate, and other neighbouring parts, which nearly approach 1,000 or 1,200 tons, but they are none of them like the carracks, nor so strong, by reason that less iron is used in their fitting. On the other hand, they are not so liable to rot, nor so easily pierced by worms, because in the Indies they use no timber that has not lain three or four years after being cut: this renders it drier and harder. Moreover, their timber is by nature harder and better than ours. They can afford to wait this long while, because they have great store of timber, and build but few vessels, nor do they consume it as fuel, by reason of the heat of the country. Whereas, on the contrary, in Portugal there is but little timber, and many vessels are built, so that there they are constrained to use the timber quite green.¹

¹ The smaller vessels used for the coasting fleet of India were built chiefly at Bassein (Baçaim). Such were *sanguiceis* (sing. *sanguicel*, q.v. Yule, *Gloss.*) and *fustas*, specially adapted for fighting the Malabar pirates, and corresponding in use to our gunboats. Thus, in 1598, six *sanguiceis* were built at Bassein for L. da Gama's expedition against Kunhâli (*Dec XI*). Owing to the lack of timber in Portugal, to which Pyrard alludes, and also to the success of the *Chagas* (see next note),

I have heard it said by the Portuguese, that no vessel ever made so many voyages from Portugal to the Indies as a certain carrack that was built at *Bassains*, which is between Goa and Cambaye: it made as many as six.¹ Those built in Portugal ordinarily make but two, or three at most, but the majority make but one. This place, *Bassains*, is to the Indies what Biscay in Spain is here, for all the vessels built for the King of Spain in the Indies are constructed there, because no country yields so much timber. True it is that in the kingdoms of *Pegu*, *Sian*, and in *Martabanne*, there is found even more and better; but these places are remote and less convenient.

These great carracks have four decks or stories, on each of which a man, however tall, can walk without touching his head against the deck above; indeed, he comes not within two feet of it. The poop and the prow are higher than the main-deck by the height of three or even four men, in such wise that it seems as if two castles were erected at the two ends. There may be thirty-five or forty pieces of bronze cannon; for they hardly ever use pieces of iron as we do. Their cannon is of the weight of four or five thousand

the King of Spain made every attempt to induce the India Government to build the carracks in India. A splendid carrack was built at Goa by Mathias de Albuquerque, and for good omen named a second *Chagas*. She sailed for Lisbon early in 1593, and, after a voyage of terrible misfortunes, was attacked by three ships of the Earl of Cumberland at the Azores, in June 1594. Her crew made a heroic defence, and finally blew her up, with her cargo of immense value (*Dec. XI*; Harris, *Voy.*, i, 688; *Purchas*, iv, 1147).

¹ The carrack alluded to is probably the *Chagas*, built in 1561, not at Bassein, but at the Goa arsenal, by the Viceroy Constantine de Bragança, at his own cost (*Dec. VII*, liv. ix, 17). She made nine or eleven voyages until 1587, when she was laid up as a hulk in the Tagus. On her last voyage to India, in 1585, she carried out the Viceroy Duarte de Menezes; she must have been a large, and even then a staunch ship, as she carried 900 passengers, besides a crew of 100, and did not touch land between Lisbon and Cochin, being seven months on the way.

pounds; the least is three thousand. Besides these, they omit not to carry some small pieces, such as *esperes*¹ and *perriers*, whereof they place some in the tops: for these tops are so large that they will hold ten or a dozen men. And the masts are so enormous that no tree is tall or thick enough to make a whole one,—I speak both of the mainmast and of the foremast. So, usually, all their masts are lengthened by splicing, and covered all round with “fishes”,² which are thick pieces of timber, cleverly fastened, and of the required thickness. These timbers, being well adjusted, are firmly lashed with ropes, and well bound with iron braces, so as not to impede the yard in its rise and fall. The yard is of thickness proportionate to the mast, and four-and-twenty fathoms in length. It requires full two hundred persons to raise it aloft, and always with two big capstans.³ They line not their ships with lead as we do ours; they only put it over the seams to keep fast the caulking. Then they cover the ship afresh with deal boards, and afterwards caulk it again, working it over with pitch, and then with sulphur and tallow. They are thus the tightest and staunchest ships you can see, and one is astonished at the number of stout timbers so well adjusted, and so much iron braced together. For all that, the sea sometimes shivers and shatters them

¹ Port. *espera* or *esfera*. De Couto (*Dec. VIII*) says they threw shot of 12 lbs. As to *perrier*, see vol. i, p. 23.

² Fr. *gaburons*,—“pièce de bois, nommée autrement *jumelle*, qu'on applique contre un mât, pour le fortifier” (*Litté*); *jumelle* = “fishes” (*Boyer*).

³ A French engineer resident at Goa invented a machine for the purpose of saving this immense labour. The king, on being informed, instructs the viceroy (1st March 1594) to have it tested, and if effectual, used in the carracks. Before this despatch reached India the viceroy had, in fact, fitted it up in the carrack *As Chagas*, but as this vessel never reached Lisbon (see above, p. 182, *note*), the authorities there seem not to have seen the appliance even in 1596 (*Arch. Port. Or.*, Fasc. 3, No. 140, para. 46, and No. 204, para. 46). From the statement in the text, it may be concluded that the invention was a failure.

sooner than the smaller vessels; and verily I have observed that the larger and heavier a ship is, the more she labours. The smaller craft is lifted on the waves, whereas these cannot rise for their weight, and the waves strike and shiver them with the whole broadside of the storm, and break their masts and yards sooner than they would the others'. The more resistance the wind meets, the greater is its force and effect. The storm, however, must be a mighty severe one, for a little vessel would take for a storm what these big ones would consider a calm, so hard are they to shake. Moreover, they are very good sailers before the wind, but are worth nothing on the bowline,—that is, when the wind comes from one side or the other.

These vessels go for trade, and never for war. The other smaller ships, such as Biscay galleons, Flemish hulks, caravels, and other French ships, remain in the Indies to make voyages to China, Japan, Malaca, Mozambique, Ormuz, and other parts of India. They serve also for war, or to bring despatches and attend the viceroy. They are indeed of service to the Portuguese in India; but their chief use is that the King of Spain sends them to accompany the carracks, and to convey men to the Indies; and if all the ships that go were to come back, there would not be found hands to man them, by reason of the great number that die on the voyages. Sometimes the hands of two ships are not sufficient to man one. Then, again, they obtain not enough cargo, that is, pepper, to fill them; and most often, for want of it, one or two of these carracks have to wait for the next year; and so, when the next year comes round, they send out from Portugal only one or two carracks, supported by some smaller vessels.

Note also that the soldiers in the Indies must not embark as mariners, nor the mariners as soldiers; so that the soldiers are forced to remain there, and the mariners to return. The latter dare not remain; and should there not be room for

them in the returning ship, they wait for another opportunity. In the meantime they are paid every month at Goa, but they must not enter the ranks as soldiers; for if that were allowed, there would be none to man the vessels; and the soldiers there are held in the highest honour. For their soldiers they draw upon all classes; but they get not such good mariners as they could wish: from these they get their gunners and other officers. The soldiers have six *perdos* a month; the gunners and mariners, four. If a mariner wishes to return, he may do so, even if there is not a vacancy for one of his condition in the vessel; but not if there be at the time a lack of seamen, for then he is kept back till the next year, meantime receiving his regular pay. On board ship he would get his ordinary pay; but if he were to embark otherwise than as a rated mariner, he would be like a stranger, and would not get the bread-and-water ordinary, nor even a berth, unless he bought one. Wherefore they prefer in this case to wait a year, even two, if they have not the means to buy another mariner's place (which costs them about sixty or eighty *perdos*), or the means to buy a place to stow their baggage and goods. The condition of a man who has no berth on board is pitiful indeed: it is not as in our vessels, where the 'tween decks is common to all; in theirs there is not the smallest corner that is not given as a favour or sold, and the same on deck. A place on the poop must be got from the master, in the bows from the mate. Between the two masts—that is, on the orlop and on deck there—the space is at the disposal of the guardian.¹ This order and separation is observed in the vessels of the Indies only: in other voyages

¹ *Gardien*. Linschoten (ii, 231) says: "The guardian or quarter-master hath his cabin close by the great mast outward on the left hand, for on the right hand standeth the scullerie and kitchen"; and Ant. de Confians (quoted by Jal, *Gloss.*, s.v.), 1515-20, speaking of the armament of the ship of Charles d'Amboise, writes: "Le Gardien avoit soin de la Sainte-Barbe et de la soute aux poudres. La Sainte-Barbe avoit alors le nom de *Gardiennerie*"; hence our "ward-room".

it is much the same as with us. In the smaller vessels they observe the same regulation as in the carracks, but the officers of the one do not in the least resemble those of the other: for the master of a galion who had made his voyage to the Indies would be mighty pleased on the return voyage to get the office of a guardian on board a carrack. These mariners and officers of the smaller vessels are all men impressed for service as mariners, masters, mates, pilots, etc., of these vessels. They can hope for but little gain, because their ships never come back, and for want of ship they have to wait a year or two, or return at their own expense. On their return, however, they are recompensed, for they get some office in a carrack, but of lower rank than they enjoyed in their galion. It is more honorable to be a mariner in the one than a mate in the other, wherefore a place in a carrack is sought after and purchased, being as well honourable as profitable.

These seamen on board the carracks resemble not any others that I have seen, nor even the Portuguese on other voyages. For true it is that all seamen while at sea are barbarous, cruel, and uncivil wretches, with no respect of persons, in short, very devils incarnate, while on shore they are very angels. These mariners of the Indian carracks, however, are exceptions, for they are courteous and well-mannered, both at sea and on shore, and seemed to be all men of honour and birth, bearing great respect to one another. Among the mariners of France I have never seen the like, as I shall describe more particularly hereafter.

As regards the order preserved by the Portuguese in these carracks during their voyages, I will say first of all that the "equipage" or crew numbers more than 1,000 or 1,200, or at least 800 to 900, who are ranked in manner following. There is a captain, who is absolute over the whole ship and the men on board; next there is a pilot, a

second pilot, a master, a master's mate,¹ a guardian, two ropemakers,² some 60 mariners, 70 or more apprentices,³ and a master gunner, whom they call the Constable, assisted by five-and-twenty other gunners (more or less, according to the vessel): he gives his orders to all below the captain, and submits to none but him: he has charge of the cannon, and the two great sheets.⁴ There is also a chaplain-priest of the ship, who is rated, and obliged to say Mass on Sundays and Holy-days, without consecration (of the elements), however, for that is not allowed at sea. He is also obliged to confess, to preach, and to perform all other ecclesiastical functions and ceremonies. And though there be also other clerics of all orders on board, they are not obliged to do these things, except of their own will: they are not paid, and are merely embarked for the Indies, without leave to return to Portugal.

Besides these, there is a clerk⁵ who is all-powerful, being

¹ In orig.: "un maistre, un contre-maistre". The English version of Linschoten designates the former as "master", and the latter wrongly as "boteson". The use of the French terms has changed with time, and *contre-maître* now means boatswain's mate. As according to the text the officer so named was next to the master in the general control of the crew, I prefer to render the term by "master's mate".

² Fr. *Trinquier*; Port. *Estringueiro*, from *estrinque*, rope (our "string"). Linschoten (i, 3) says, "two *strinceros*, those are they which hoise up the maine yeard by a wheele, and let it down againe with a wheele as need is." Mocquet mentions the officer as "*l'estringuere qui est celuy qui sert à mener la grande voile par une roue*".

³ Fr. *gourmet*; Sp. *grumete*; Du. *grom*; Eng. *groom*. They were the ship's apprentices, not necessarily boys. Below he calls them *sous-mariniens*, mentioning a grown man who so shipped; they would correspond to our ordinary seamen (not A.B.'s), formerly called "younkers".

⁴ Fr. *écoutes*. This combination of duties may seem anomalous: but Adm. Brine informs me that even when he entered the navy, the gunner had charge of the guns and of the mainsail.

⁵ *Escriuain*; Port. *escrivão*. The office of ship's clerk, now obsolete, was formerly of great dignity. "He is also called", says P. Fournier, "*commis, facteur, or agent*: the Italians call him *proveditore*; with them he holds the second place in the ship, being as it were the *Eye* of the prince, republic, burgher, or merchant, who has freighted the ship and sent her to sea" (*Hydrographie*, p. 143). In Holland he was called the

appointed by the king. Nothing is carried on behalf of the king or the private merchants that he does not take note of. He also registers all that comes in or goes out of the ship, and passes all bills and bonds whatever. For be it noted that all bills and bonds that are made at sea are good and lawful among the Portuguese, but among the French are null and void. This clerk also draws and preserves all informations and judicial writs, as in a Registry. When anyone dies, he makes an inventory of all his goods on board, and causes them to be sold by auction to the highest bidder. The money he gets thereby he puts out at interest, and when he arrives at Goa or Lisbon he delivers a copy of his inventory to the relatives and heirs, who pay him for his trouble. He has vast authority on the ship, and nothing takes place ere he has first given his advice and consent. All the ship's victuals are brought before him, and are distributed before his eyes, and he notes everything, even down to a pint (*chopine*) of water. He keeps the keys of the scuttles of the ship, and even when the captain would go below, he must have the clerk always with him; otherwise he could not, for the clerk represents the king on board. The captain has command over all, both the crew and the passengers, and for all they may be greater lords than he, yet must they obey him. Nevertheless, when something of importance has to be done, he takes the advice and counsel of all the officers, gentlemen, and merchants, and makes them all sign, in case of a future inquiry. He cannot condemn to death for crime, but must give the strappado¹ on

Fiscal, and presided at courts-martial, in which he was assisted by a council of war. In the Portuguese ships he had not judicial power, but only that of a registrar and notary. In this capacity we find the *scrivano* in the Ordinances of Trani (A.D. 1063), in the Statute of Marseilles, and in the Amalfitan Table, the last mentioned sea-law giving to his writing the same authority in a court of justice as that of a notary public. (See *Black Book of the Admiralty*, 1876, vol. iv, pp. 17, 532.)

¹ From the Ital. *strappata*, a pulling, wringing. In Eng. it was a

board (the French call this "passer par sous le navire", or "caler"), and other corporal punishments, also such as hanging under the forelocks. In civil causes he may award damages up to 200 cruzados, without appeal. He can also imprison a man in irons for the whole voyage: being arrived at land, he delivers him over to justice.

After the captain, the pilot is the second person of the ship, for the master obeys him, and acts only under his commands. He never leaves his place on the poop, ever observing his needle and compass; in this he has a second pilot to help him. Next is the master, who commands all the mariners, apprentices, and other ship's hands; he has a master's mate under him to assist him: all these are appointed by the king. The master's duty is to command from the poop to the main-mast, including that, as well in lowering the sails as in all other needful work. The master's mate takes charge from the forecastle to the foremast, inclusive of that mast, and has the same duties there as the master on the poop. The latter cannot give him any orders as to that part: each of them remains night and day on his own quarter, and it will happen that in six months they visit each other not four times.

The master's mate has charge of all the ship's cargo, both the lading and unlading thereof, and of other necessary jobs, both at sea and on arrival in port; for the master never leaves his poop. Next there is a guardian, who commands the apprentices, and is lodged with them night and day above on the deck, between the mainmast and the foremast: this part they call *Converso*,¹ and, wind or rain, they must be form of the rack:—"Zounds", says Falstaff, "an I were at the strappado or all the racks in the world, I would not tell you on compulsion." The Fr. *estrapade*, as the text shows, was also applied to keel-hauling. Our sailors' version of the above French explanation was "under-going a great hard-ship".

¹ Pyrard seems to be the only authority for this form. The Port. is *convex* or *conves*, the deck of the "waist" or middle part of the ship, between

always there; they have nothing to cover them but ox-hides. This place is called *Converso* with good right, for it is the promenade of all on board, where they visit and converse with each other. This guardian commands the apprentices; and if at the second whistle one fails to answer and come quickly, he gives him in addition (to his task) heavy blows with a rope-end or a rod. These apprentices are rated lowest on board, and come after the mariners, serving only to give a hand with the ropes: they never go aloft, or leave the deck. They assist in all the hard work of the vessel, and are like valets to the mariners, who beat and chide them sore. Thus they are not allowed to manage the tiller or helm; so there is no sort of work, whether outside or inside the ship, that they are not obliged to do, such as cleaning ship, and working the pump which they alone do, except when, owing to accident, the ship is making more water than usual, and the pump has to be worked three or four times a day.

The mariners are highly respected; and there are few of them but can read and write, such being very needful to them for the art of navigation. For by this word mariner is to be understood one who is well instructed in navigation; but yet there are few good at it, although all bear the name: theirs is the work of steering the ship, each in his turn. In these great ships, that are difficult to handle, they take one or two apprentices to their aid. They do all the work that has to be done aloft, such as setting and reefing the sails,

the forecastle and the poop. Père Fournier (*Hydrographie*, 1643) borrows the word *converso*, and the explanation, with many others, from Pyrard. Aubin (1702) copies the passage from Fournier, and Jal (*Gloss. Naut.*) follows suit, suggesting that *convez* may be a corruption of *converso*, or may be from *conveir*, to meet. As the word seems to be used by no Portuguese writer in this sense (Port. *converso* means a "convert" or a "lay brother"), I conclude that Pyrard has made a mistake, and therefore that *converso* may disappear from the dictionaries for the future.

handling the ropes, and so on. They are much honoured of the master and the pilot when they do their duty. They never clean the ship, nor work the pump, save when necessity requires. The guardian may not command them in anything. They are divided into three watches for the night: the pilot has one watch, the master another, and the master's mate the third; in like manner the apprentices are in watches with them; each party is on watch four hours, and each man is two hours at the helm. It must be noted here that in these large ships there must be three compasses: the pilot that is high up on the poop has one; under the deck there is another for the mariner who is there to hear the pilot, because he that is below at the helm could not hear him, so the one that is betwixt passes on to him the pilot's word.

There are two principal mariners, whom they call *Trinqueres*, that have the care of the ropes and sails, and when these require to be mended, they see to it. There are also four little boys called *Pages*, who serve only to call the whole company to their duty; they sing out from the foot of the mainmast, and even then all can hardly hear them. They summon the crew, both to come on their watch, and to go to the helm, etc. These boys also serve to look after the lamps, and to carry messages from the master and other officers; also, when the goods of a dead person are sold, it is they who make proclamation and call the bids. There is a sergeant to execute the commands of the captain in matters of justice; the prisons are at the foot of the pump; there they place the malefactors, most often with irons on their feet, and none can go near them but he alone. There are other smaller prisons, as for example on the deck, where are certain blocks of wood pierced with holes, whereinto they put the criminal's feet, which are then fastened with padlocks. This sergeant has also all the powder, ball, matches, and arms in his charge: all these are entrusted to him

by tally. He has also charge of the fires, and no one, whosoever he might be, would dare to light or carry any fire without the sergeant gave it with his own hand. And for this purpose there are on the two sides of the ship at the place of the mainmast, two large kitchens, which they call *fougons*¹; and when the sergeant lights the fire there, which is close upon eight or nine o'clock, there are always two guards or soldiers present, one at each kitchen, to see that no one commits any folly with the fire, as also to prevent any from taking a light and carrying fire about the ship. So if one has occasion to go down to the hold to inspect the goods, the sergeant, if he can trust him, comes and lights him a candle, by leave of the captain, and puts it in a lantern of white iron pierced all over, and fastens it with a padlock; if, however, he cannot trust him, he goes himself. Also he has the duty of seeing the fires put out, which is at about four o'clock.

In these vessels are also many necessary artisans, two of each office and craft; such as surgeons, carpenters, caulkers, coopers, etc. The most of the apprentices are made subject to them, each in his own place; for all the ship's officers have each his own station; and some are allotted to sleep always aloft in the top, and the rest each at his hatch, except the four that sleep in the top. All these artisans are liable to all work like the rest, when not occupied (at their craft). The master, mate, guardian, and master gunner have each a big silver whistle, hung at his neck with silver chains, where-with they make known all their orders; that is, the master and mate to the mariners, the master gunner to the gunners, and the guardian to the apprentices and the four boys. There are also two stewards (*despenciers*), one for the mariners, and the other for the soldiers; but they can distribute nothing but in the presence of the clerk. These stewards are

¹ *Fougon*, a galley, or ship's kitchen; a Mediterranean term; Sp. *fogon*; It. *focone*, from Lat. *focus* (*Littre*).

also appointed by the king. In the ship there are great numbers of soldiers, gentlemen, merchants, ecclesiastics, and other passengers, of whom I say no more, having no concern with them here.

The King of Spain sends out these ships, armed and equipped at his own proper cost and expense, with his own goods, which consist of silver only. This he sends to help to pay the cost of the Indian government, and to buy pepper. So there is not a vessel that goes out but carries at the least 40,000 or 50,000 crowns in silver for him, besides the goods belonging to the private passengers. This silver is profitable to him, for on reaching the Indies it goes up in price one-third above the value in Portugal. In these ships are sometimes embarked from seven to eight hundred soldiers; the rest are the crew and passengers. But what causes these Portuguese ships to make so little resistance on occasions of fighting is, that all these soldiers are children of peasants and other folk of low estate, who are taken by force from the age of ten or twelve years: so that never having seen war, they cannot make a good fight of it. As for the gunners, they are mostly artizans, shoemakers, tailors, and others who, when the time arrives, know not how to fire a gun.¹ But for all that these fellows, notwithstanding their low estate, when they have passed the Cape of Good Hope, as we have already stated elsewhere, give themselves new names and call themselves gentlemen. Another thing that causes them to show so little fight is, that their enemies give them very good terms of capitulation²;

¹ No wonder then that De Couto, in his severe indictment of Portuguese administration, exclaims, "Why, there is not a gunner in all India that could hit the hill of Cintra, unless he fired from the very foot of it!" (*Soldado Practico*, Dial. i, Scena 10).

² In orig. *leur font fort bonne guerre*. The terms of *buena guerra* were recognised as entitling the prisoners to their liberty without ransom (Hawkins' *Voy.*, pp. 320, 321).

all the loss is the king's, and they lose nothing, so say they.

When these great vessels are ready to start, the king furnishes them with all sorts of provisions, which are for the common use from Portugal to Goa, and no further. The steward for the soldiers gives them their commons first, then the steward for the mariners and the other officers and seamen serves out theirs ; so all without exception get their ordinary day by day, one as another, viz., half a *canada*¹ of wine, and the same of water (a pipe contains three hundred canadas) ; of bread as much as they can eat. As for other things, such as salted meat, an *aroba* a month (the "aroba" weighs thirty pounds) : everything else is given in the same proportion, such as oil, vinegar, salt, onions, and fish ; all these are served out for a whole month, except the wine and water, which is for the day only, and all in presence of the clerk, who puts everything down in his accounts, with the names. If a man does not drink wine, he can sell it to the others, or keep it, leaving it in the hands of the purser, who keeps a score ; being arrived at Goa or elsewhere, he can get the wine that is due to him, and do what he likes with it. But the evil that I find in all this is, that the provisions are given to them raw, and each man has to cook his own victuals ; so that you will sometimes see more than eighty or a hundred pots on the fire at the same time ; and when some are done, others are put on. So when any are sick, instead of being properly cared for, they are exceeding ill fed and maintained, and many die from this cause. The French and Hollanders have not the same practice, for they have one cook for all, and eat six off a dish. But among the Portuguese the eating and drinking is all a man's own affair ; what is over of all the provisions and ship's utensils goes to the superintendents of ships residing at Goa ; and when the vessels are about to return, they furnish them afresh at the expense of the king.

¹ A Port. measure equal to about three pints English.

The whole of the ship's utensils are delivered over to the master, and the provisions and goods to the clerk.

For the rest, the soldiers while on board have to keep a guard every night, but are not liable to any other work. Such as have refreshments in the ship sell to those that want: thus one has been known to sell a hen for twenty reals of forty sols the piece, that is, at forty livres, and he that bought it re-sold the soup or "bouillon" for as much as the hen had cost him, so as it left him free and quits: this was a sale to the sick.

With regard to the pay of the ship's officers, note that to the captain, pilot, master, and other men in command, the king gives them each a certain berth in the ship, and in like manner to the mariners. As for the soldiers, apprentices, mariners, artisans, and other officers, they are paid all alike; that is, for the voyage from Portugal to Goa, fifty cruzados each. The cruzado is worth fifty sols. The commanding officers and mariners, if they have the means, buy goods suitable each to his quality and rank, having to pay no dues for a certain amount of goods. Those who have not the means to buy make but little profit of the voyage. The others can make a profit of five for one; and though they take no silver with them, yet are they enabled to make purchases by selling their berths to passengers, as well gentlemen as soldiers and merchants. Certain berths are readily sold at three hundred cruzados, wherewith they buy some goods, the which the king permits them to stow in the hold: for the king retains to himself only two decks in each vessel, there being four in all, not counting the poop and the forecastle, which are equal to one and a half.

The soldiers are lodged under cover below the main deck, and the apprentices above in the open; and the same with the Jesuits, and other clergy, when there are any, saving the ship's chaplain, who has his berth as one of the officers. The soldiers have their berths in going to the Indies only,

but not in returning. The navigating officers have their berths according to their quality.

These ships are mighty foul, and stink withal ; the most not troubling themselves to go on deck for their necessities, which is in part the cause that so many die. The Spaniards, French, and Italians do the same ; but the English and Hollanders are exceeding scrupulous and cleanly.

As for berths, a man that is without one is greatly pinched and pressed, for he will find no place to sleep under cover except he pays for one for a while. And so to put away his victuals and goods, he must buy a place of some one, otherwise he is constrained to leave them out in the open air, at the risk of being wetted, spoiled, or stolen ; so that everyone is obliged to buy a place from the ship's folk, who have other places reserved for their own use.

Accordingly, one that would go to the Indies to advantage must have an appointment, which means a berth on board ship. If he does not get one from the king, he must buy it from some one else, or of some widow. These offices and berths, if the ship does not arrive safely in Portugal, will belong to the same persons in another ship that is to leave the year after ; and if that does not make a safe passage, they wait again for the next, and so on till a ship arrives safely, which is the cause that all these offices are in great request, and the berths of widows and orphans bought at high prices. But with all that they must have something to take out with them, and they have a proverb, "He that takes nothing to the Indies will bring nothing home."¹ Again they have a saying that the first voyage is only to see, the second to learn, and the third to make money ; and so if in three voyages a man does not make a fortune, he should not return.

As regards the Catholic religion, it is observed on ship-

¹ Port. "Quem nada leva á India, nada traz."

board as on land, saving the consecration (of the elements), which is strictly forbidden at sea. But all the other ceremonies are observed, such as Mass, vespers, holy-water, and procession ; also Lent, and the annual holidays. There are chapels adorned with beautiful pictures, where everyone goes to say his prayers. When one dies, the master blows a whistle to advertise everyone to say prayers, but there is no firing of cannon as with us. As for their ordinary prayers, every evening at nine o'clock the master with his whistle summons everyone to say a *Pater* and an *Ave*. Then he gives another whistle to call all the seamen to keep their watch and ward, and all betake themselves to their several posts. At break of day all the ship's boys chant a sea-orison or prayer, which is for all sorts and conditions of men on board, each in his particular office, with special mention also of the ship, and all her apparel in order, making apt reference in the case of each article to every stage and thing in the story of the Passion: so that this prayer lasts a full hour: it is said with a loud voice.

These ships, thus equipped and ordered, depart from Lisbon at the end of February, or at latest at the beginning of March: they must not touch at any place this side of the Cape, except in case of urgent need. And if, peradventure, some accident should prevent them doubling the *Abrolles* or passing the Cape, they are forced to stand about straight for Portugal again, and so lose their voyage. But if the ships are not staunch enough to return, they have no ports where they can anchor except at *Angola*, on the coast of Guinea, or at Brazil, in the Bay of All Saints,¹ or else at Fernambour.² Also, when they can safely pass the Cape, and thence to India or Goa, they have no other places to land at and refresh themselves, except at Mozambique; and thither they go not but in direst extremity and necessity, sojourning there the least while they can, so their orders are.

¹ Bahia de todos os Santos.

² Pernambuco.

Yet sometimes they arrive there so late that they are forced to remain a long time, by reason of the contrary winds and other accidents. The ships that go there leave at the same time that the Portugal ships are setting out to come home—that is, in the month of June or July. They arrive usually in September or October, unless fortune plays them false, and most frequently they arrive not at Goa, but go to Cochin or Couelan; but this is perforce, and by reason of the currents that carry them there, or of the calms and contrary winds.

When, then, they have passed the Cape of Good Hope, they come to the land of Natal or of the Nativity, where usually they meet with heavy storms. This land is on the coast of Ethiopia, about 150 leagues to the other side of the Cape. When the Portuguese find themselves at the altitude of this land, after passing it, they take counsel among themselves whether, according to the season, they have time enough to pass between the island of St. Lawrence¹ and the mainland; else, if it be too late, to take a course outside the island. For, in order to take the course between the island and the mainland of Africa, they must have passed the Cape early—that is, in the month of July: if it be later, they are obliged to follow the other course outside, and then they are not sure of making Goa, being more likely to make land at Cochin, or sometimes no further than *Couelan*,² as I have said. Whereas those that have passed the Cape early, can easily pass between the said island and Africa, and can go to Mozambique to refresh for ten or twelve days. Otherwise, if they put off too long on this course, they cannot easily arrive at Goa, because of the calms and contrary winds which ordinarily prevail at this season. Such as are too late in that sea have been full often forced to remain a long time at Mozambique, and thus have arrived very late at Goa, inso-

¹ *I.e.*, Madagascar.

² Quilon, in South Malabar.

much that their voyage was retarded for another year.¹ As for those who have come—whether inside or outside the island of St. Lawrence, and have not touched at Mozambique—you must believe that they run grievous risks and have suffered wondrous troubles and labours, having been sometimes nine and ten months before they arrive at Goa; for, except Mozambique, there is no other port they could make: and those that will not make it when the season is too late, cannot fail to be grievously afflicted with the malady of the scurvy (*scurbut*), or as often even to die of thirst. While I was at Goa I saw some ships arrive there, in which, of the thousand or twelve hundred men that were in them at the setting out from Lisbon, there were left not two hundred, and well-nigh all these sick of the scurvy, which wears them in such sort, that after they are arrived they hardly recover.

I will say here in passing, that between the island of St. Lawrence and the mainland there are banks or shoals much to be feared, where many Portuguese vessels have been lost. They call these sands *baxos de Iudias*²—that is to say, “Judas banks.” They are 50 leagues from the said island and 70 from the mainland; approaching them on the outward voyage they begin at the 23rd degree and end at the 22nd and a half. They are verily fearful and dangerous shoals.

But to return to our Portuguese ships. When they are

¹ The ordinary service of carracks was to leave Lisbon in February or March, and reach Goa (or Cochín) about September or October; and for the same ships, or such as survived, to leave India the following December or January. He has probably in his mind here the unfortunate fleet of the Conde de Feira, which left Lisbon in the spring of 1608. Mocquet, who was on board one of the few ships that reached India, did not get to Goa till May 1609. Thus a year was lost, for they ought by that time to have been nearly back to Europe.

² Port. *Baixos da Judia*; in the Eng. version of Linschoten (i, 22), “Flats of the Jewes”, now the Europa shoals. A terrible account of the wreck on these shoals of the carrack *Santiago*, in 1585, will be found in Linschoten (ii, 176-82), and De Couto (*Dec. X*, Liv. vii, cc. 1-3).

arrived at Cochin they take in their cargo there, and go not on to Goa, because of the contrary winds and currents. They are laden there by command of the viceroy, whom they advertise forthwith of their arrival, and he sends them the King of Spain's officers to give the necessary orders: for in the other towns there are all manner of officers, and the same regulation in spiritual and temporal things as at Goa.

The navigation of these Portuguese vessels is carried on with exceeding bad order; for although they set out from Portugal all together and in convoy, and are expressly enjoined not to lose sight of one another, yet do they observe this order mighty ill, and make no account to obey their admiral, whom they call *capitaine major*. The cause of that is that all these captains are gentlemen of good houses, and are unwilling to yield in aught to one another. So each goes his own way, without having regard whether his companions are following or not. This is full often the cause of their loss, for, being alone, they may come up with some Hollander ships or other enemies that attack and take them, seeing that, as I said before, they make little resistance, the soldiers being only a mob of men, mostly taken perforce from among the villagers and poor artizans. Also, the captains have no great zeal to defend themselves, so little interest have they in the matter, for the Hollanders give them quarter and kill them not. It is only the King of Spain and some merchants, present and absent, that lose by it. When these ships are captured or lost they make among them an attestation of the loss of their goods, and of the office that each held in the ship, and when they get home they get recompensed for all, sometimes double. I must also note in passing, as I have said before, that all these soldiers and seamen, after they have passed the Cape, give themselves titles of nobility, otherwise they would be greatly blamed and despised by the other Portuguese resident in the Indies; for they bear to one another the greatest respect, even the

highest to the lowest, and do greatly esteem one another, despising not only the Indians, but even all the other Christian nations of Europe, whom they call "white men"; the Indians call them *Faranquy* or *Franki*. But if an Indian have struck a white man, the law is that he has his hand cut off.

So much for the order observed by the Portuguese ships from their embarkment at Lisbon until their arrival at Goa or other place in the East Indies. And be it noted that in all these voyages it is only the poor soldiers and seamen that have a bad time of it and suffer poverty, because most often they do not get their wages and pay. I have sometimes seen them be four whole months without touching a sol, and all the time the King of Spain is paying. So from this it may be seen that the Indies are good and profitable only to the viceroys, governors, and some of the king's officers—not to the king, nor to the poor soldiers and mariners. Also all the presents that the Indian kings offer are all for the viceroys, while those that he gives in exchange are at the expense of the King of Spain, his master. But since the French, English, and Hollanders have begun to frequent the Indies, these viceroys have not made so great profits as theretofore, having lost most of their commerce, and not daring to navigate for fear of being taken by the English or Hollanders. I have myself knowledge of a vast number of ships that have been taken from the Portuguese or pillaged. And there were some of them, coming from China and elsewhere, that were valued at more than two millions of gold; and many others, coming from and going to Portugal and between all parts of the Indies. For all the strength of the Portuguese suffices not to keep the Hollanders from these seas; yet can the Hollanders not do them much harm on the mainland in their towns and fortresses, nor get the better of them by cabals, except a little in Sunda; but that is far removed from the territories and power of the Portuguese.

Before ending this chapter I must not omit a very notable peculiarity which all the Portuguese say they have observed in their Indian voyages, namely, that all the dead bodies which they cast into the sea on the northern, that is on this, side of the Equinoctial line, go not to the bottom, but float on the surface, the head always towards the west, and the feet towards the east; and if perchance the winds or waves turn them over to one side or another, they are seen incontinently to come back to their first position. But once the line is passed toward the south, then, as they say, all the bodies go to the bottom. I leave it to the more curious naturalists to find out the cause of this. We Frenchmen, indeed, have not observed it, inasmuch as to all the bodies we cast into the sea we attach a stone or cannon-ball, to make them go to the bottom. As soon as a man dies on board a French ship his body is wrapt in a winding-sheet or coverlet, with something heavy to make it sink. It is cast to leeward, with a (lighted) firebrand on the same side, while a cannon-shot is fired to windward, and everyone keeps his eyes on that side, and not on the side on which the corpse is thrown. This done, the master or captain calls out aloud to say prayers. But the Portuguese observè none of all that, as I have said. The master contents himself with giving a whistle, to warn the crew to say their prayers.

CHAPTER XV.

Of the traffic of the Portuguese throughout the Indies in general, and the order which they observe therein.

The principal traffic of the Portuguese is with the East Indies, where they will not permit any other nation to go and trade, not even the Spaniards; that is strictly forbidden

by their king under pain of death¹: for they have obtained this privilege of the King of Spain, otherwise it were ruin to their State. So it is seen that, since the other nations of Europe have taken to the same route and trade, they are greatly troubled thereby; and firstly, by reason of the war, wherein the English and Hollanders have far greater strength and advantage over them on the sea, of which the English in particular are said to be kings, as also in these days are the Hollanders. For the Portuguese are the poorest folk in sea-fight that are to be found in all Christendom, for all the reputation they have—that is, so far as I have been able to estimate them. They are merely good pilots and mariners, and nothing more. In their voyages their apprentices and sailors are not men for labour and fatigue, but careless, lazy, dirty fellows as can be; they would let themselves be wrecked and swamped often enough rather than work.

But the other disaster, and a greater, is to their trade and commerce, which is now much curtailed, as well by the prizes that are made of their ships as by the scarcity and dearness of goods, because the great number of merchant ships renders merchandise dearer among rivals in the trade. What formerly cost the Portuguese one sol, now costs them four or five,

¹ A law made by the King of Spain, 9th Feb. 1591, forbade all foreigners to go to C. Verd, Angola, Brazil, etc., without his licence, which was to be granted only to allies (*Arch. Port. Or.*, Fasc. 6, No. 49). In 1593 the king writes that he is informed from Morocco that an English merchant there was giving out that he was going to Sumatra, etc., and orders the viceroy to see that he is not allowed to set foot on land. The same letter shows that the king had heard of Raymond and Lancaster's expedition of 1591 (Fasc. 3, No. 127a). The particular instructions against the rebel Hollanders are too frequent to mention. On the 8th March 1605, the king amends the law of 1591, by prohibiting absolutely foreign trade with the above places or India, on pain of confiscation of ships, goods, etc. A further amendment (16th June 1606) excepts the Spaniards from this prohibitory law. Meantime, the municipality of Goa had been annually petitioning the king to prohibit even the Portuguese merchants, unless they resided in India. but he would go no further than to instruct the viceroy to report (Fasc. 1, Part II)

and even what they can bring in safety to Portugal they are obliged to get rid of at a less price than they were wont ; nay, it is as much as they can do to get it sold at all, because the Hollanders sell at lower prices still, and do their business with much greater despatch.

Thus the Portuguese traffic in the Indies under conditions of continual dread of the foreigners there, and a great contempt of them is thereby engendered in the minds of all the kings and peoples of India, so that the latter now strengthen themselves with cannon, arms, and munitions more than formerly. They even go so far as to take part with men and vessels against the Portuguese, who were wont with truth to call themselves masters of the sea throughout all the Indies. For in past times they had none other competitors, save the Malabars, who carried on a continual war against them, as indeed they do still, and give them much trouble, as I have already said ; but that did not disturb their vast shipping trade. The Portuguese used to tell these Indians that their king was the greatest in Christendom, that he had all the other Christian kings and princes for vassals, and that their nation was the most noble and valiant in all the West. This the Indians continued to believe until the English and Hollanders showed them the contrary : as also have we given them in those parts to apprehend the greatness and sovereignty of each of the other Christian kings and princes, and especially of our own.

The Portuguese established themselves in the Indies at the first partly by war, as in some places, and partly by friendly commerce, as in others. The latter was the most successful means, for they have with difficulty taken towns by force, as they did Goa and some others. They have contracted treaties of peace and friendship with most of the kings of India, calling them *Irmanos et Armes*,¹ that is

¹ The phrase *Irmãos em armas*, "brothers in-arms" (not "brothers-and-arms", as he has it), was in Europe used of kings between whom

to say, very arms, brothers, and allies with the kings of Portugal. By these treaties they are thus settled in their midst with their consent, and on these terms: that the traffic is to be only between these kings and the Portuguese, in the spices and other merchandises that are in demand in these parts, and that none of the enemies of the Portuguese are to be received of them. These kings have promised them neither to trade with, nor to harbour any others without their consent; while the Portuguese have reciprocally engaged to take all their merchandises at a certain price agreed between them for each kind, and to bring there those goods of Europe that are most needful to them, such as silver, cloth, and other things most in demand there. They have moreover warranted to these kings to guard all the sea of those coasts from corsairs and pirates, and to defend them at all points, and against all enemies that may appear in those parts. In this behalf, every year they equip for the six months of summer two armadas at Goa, the one for the North and the other for the South, all at the cost and expense of the King of Portugal: for there they speak of him only as King of Portugal, and not as King of Spain.

Thus have the Portuguese induced the said Indian kings to give them establishment at suitable places, and at the most convenient ports and harbours all along that coast, to live, settle, and trade there in all personal liberty and assurance. And for this purpose the Portuguese have built there towns, fortresses, and commodious houses, and at such places

existed an offensive and defensive alliance (Vieira, *Dict. Port.*). In India it was rather a title of honour conferred by letters patent upon the rajas who accepted the Portuguese alliance. The form of the patent, *carta de irmandade*, is given by De Couto, *Dec. XII*, cap. vii. It engages the recipient to treat the friends and enemies of Portugal as his friends and enemies, to assist in the spread of Christianity by all means in his power, and to carry out the Portuguese commercial monopoly. The royal envoy who presented it at the same time delivered a flag bearing the royal arms of Portugal.

are absolute masters, with the same power and authority as the kings themselves, the latter pretending to no power in these particular towns, and the Portuguese taking all the dues, tolls, and subsidies, whereof the kings take no cognisance at all. Nor do they make enterprises one against another; but all live in excellent peace together. But if perchance these kings have any quarrel with their neighbours, the Portuguese, in case they have not a treaty of peace and friendship with those neighbours, are obliged to succour and assist their allies with men, arms, and money; and the said kings are in the same manner engaged to them in like case. But if the kings that would go to war together are both friends of the Portuguese, then must the Portuguese take measures to settle their differences, or at least must not assist either party, otherwise than secretly. Thus have they done in the dispute between the King of Cochin and the King of Calecut, which they foster as far as they can, always, however, assisting him of Cochin more than the other. The King of Calecut holds himself aloof from both parties.

Under all these treaties and agreements the Portuguese have managed to become masters of the Indian seas; so that no Indians, whether of the mainland or of the islands, or of what country soever, durst navigate or make any voyage without a passport from them, which lasts but one year only. These passports, which they call *cartas*, permit them to navigate to certain named places only, but forbid them to carry pepper, arms, or munitions of war. They even specify what arms and men they may carry, and if more are found on board than are mentioned in the passport, everything is confiscated and deemed lawful prize, and the men are held prisoners. It is also mentioned of what port the ship is. But an exception is made in favour of the kings with whom they have treaties of peace: for these can send a certain number of vessels when they choose, and with any cargo of

merchandise whatever, without any daring to say or do anything. They are not even bound to take a passport. Nevertheless, they take them for such ships as they fit out on their own behalf and are avowedly theirs. And this is the cause that many pass under their names, and carry pepper and other merchandise to Arabia, whither all these kings send every year a vast number of ships laden with spices and other drugs.

But there are plenty other kings in the Indies that are not at peace with the Portuguese, and yet cease not to navigate and traffic wherever they will, without troubling themselves about the passport of the Portuguese, whom they fear not at all. And when they meet there is a desperate struggle, and the booty is for the stronger. They that sail in this sort are all those from the coasts of Arabia, Guzerat, and Persia, the Malabars, those of the islands of Sumatra, Java, and other places—all these reckon nothing of the Portuguese; no more, indeed, than do the English, Hollanders, and French¹ who in these days go to that country. For two or three ships can navigate and sail to and fro all the coasts of India in perfect safety, and all the Portuguese armadas would not dare to touch them or attack them: nay, they can even show themselves at the bar of Goa,² where six Hollander ships have sometimes had the assurance to cast anchor, remaining there

¹ The French had not done much to justify this boast. After the St. Malo expedition of 1601, in which our author took part, they sent out no ships till 1616, and then only two ships, under De Nets and Beaulieu. Of these only one returned home. Beaulieu started on his better known voyage in 1619, the year in which this edition was published.

² P. van Caerden arrived before Goa, fresh from the first siege of Mozambique, on the 17th Oct. 1607, and remained only three days (Van Caerden's *Second Voyage*; *Arch. Port. Or.*, Fasc. 1, No. 16, para. 18). On the 17th Sept. 1608, Verhoeven arrived from the second siege of Mozambique and remained till the 27th (Verhoeven's *Voyage*; *Arch. Port. Or.*, *ib.*, No. 17, para. 4). On this occasion they came close enough to see the new fort which the Portuguese had built at Bardes.

about three weeks at a time, during which time nothing can enter or leave Goa, while the Portuguese have not the boldness to attack them. They might do the same at all their ports and towns. Provided they keep out of cannon-shot they have nothing to fear. Even when there should be two or three Portuguese ships against one Hollander, if the Hollander fires a cannon-shot, they will incontinently strike, and will come and render themselves up to their mercy : which is the cause that the Hollanders generally give them quarter. They did not do so from the beginning, and got the worst of it ; for on occasions when they assumed the defensive, the Hollanders punished them and slew them. But now they fight no more : for in these Portuguese ships there are for the most part only rich private merchants, who having wives and children, would much rather lose what little they have in the ship than be killed. This is the reason I have heard them allege sometimes when I spoke to them of it. The Malabars say that they never refuse fight, when there are two Portuguese ships or galiots against one Malabar vessel of the same size, which will go and attack them boldly. So it may be inferred from these facts, that nowadays the Portuguese, after all this talk about themselves, are the most wretched soldiers on the sea and the least to be feared.

But to return to their commerce and traffic in the Indies, a number of ships set out every year. These are the carracks ; every year they despatch two, three, four, or more, of the burthen of 2,000 tons more or less, equipped with 1,000 or 1,200 men of all qualities, as I shall describe more particularly hereafter. All this is at the expense of their king ; for no private person ever sends a ship or vessel to the Indies. But there are no people so unfortunate in their voyages ; for they navigate so ill, and in such great disorder (as, indeed, they confess themselves), that none equal them in maritime dishonour. I have myself known of twenty-

five ships, as well carracks as galions, and other large vessels, which left Lisbon on three voyages in three years for Goa : of these, fourteen left in one year, wherein was the Count *de la Fera*, who was sent out as viceroy : he died on his way on the coast of Guinea. In the two years following eleven started, and of the whole twenty-five, I am assured that there returned not four to Portugal.¹ The rest were wrecked, lost and sunk in the Indies, except three or four that were captured by the Hollanders. I omit all mention of the Indian-built ships, which are lost in all quarters in great numbers. It is not the fault of the vessels, which are very good ; nor of their pilots, who are expert enough ; but in truth it may be said that, though their ships are magnificent, yet do they encounter very heavy storms, also that their men are not capable of great fatigue, and that their officers (except the pilots) are rarely expert in their several offices. The reason is that most of them, nay all, captains, masters, master's mates, keepers, even the mariners, gunners, and others, get their offices by favour, or for money, or in recompense for their services or past losses ; also that these offices are given to the widows or children of such as have died on voyages or elsewhere in the service of the king ; then do these sell them to whom they will, without judging of his capacity or

¹ Above, at p. 86, *note*, the number of the C. da Feira's fleet is given as fourteen, on Pyrard's authority ; but Mocquet (who was in it) and F. N. Xavier (*O Gabinete Literario*, Nova Goa, 1846, pp. 83, 109), who speaks from the Goa archives, give thirteen as the number. Xavier states that five left Lisbon in 1609 and three in 1610 ; but to those of 1609 must be added the extraordinary fleet of five ships which took out the viceroy, L. de Tavora (see below, ch. xxi). It is impossible to follow the fortunes of all the ships which left Lisbon, 1608-10, as the names are not always given ; and sometimes ships remained at Goa for a season : but we do know that of the four which left with Pyrard, Dec.-Jan. 1609-10, three reached Lisbon ; and that the two which left Dec.-Jan. 1610-11, under Vasconcellos, arrived safely (*Liv. das Monç.*, ii, 178). The statement in the text is, therefore, probably an exaggeration.

merit. Besides this, when their king wishes to send any additional or extraordinary fleets, he gets his officers and men, as well soldiers as sailors, wherever he can, such as poor householders having wives and children. But in addition to all that, I believe the principal cause that their voyages succeed so ill is the great severity and cruelty which they use toward their poor slaves, and the other sorts and races of men that are under their power and dominion. And what causes still more disorder among them is that the captains, being gentlemen, have a great ambition one with another who shall have the first place¹; so they never await each other, and most often the last to arrive have to wait till the next year for pepper and other spices. All these things together cause the great loss of men, money, ships, etc., now suffered by the King of Spain in the Indies, nay, the loss of the Indies themselves. For the revenue of the Indies cannot at present be sufficient to pay and maintain the state, in spiritual as well as in temporal concerns, and the cost is greater than the value. It is indeed very certain that but for the reputation and interest of the Catholic faith (as they say) they would long ere this have abandoned all those lands. Some years ago he (the King of Spain) assembled his council upon this question, whether he should do so or no, because of the trouble and loss he was then incurring. The Portuguese made him this remonstrance, praying that, if he was of a mind to abandon everything, it might please his majesty to leave the Indies to them and hand over all his rights to them, engaging always to hold of him, and to govern and maintain the state in all propriety. Nevertheless,

¹ See *Linschoten*, ii, 235. The ship in which he came home sighted another of the same fleet, and made towards it to speak with it; but "for very pride and high stomacke they would not stay to speake with us againe : which our officers perceiving, did likewise winde from them, every one doing his best to get before the other. By this and such like signs of pride, the Portingales do often cast themselves away, etc."

the king did not agree thereto, and they have gone on as before.¹

With regard to the goods exported by the Portuguese to the Indies for traffic there: in the first place, their king sends silver only; but the private merchants send (besides silver) woollen cloth, hats, swords, and all manner of arms and munitions of war, or the material for making the same; next, all kinds of the iron ware of these parts, paper, iron, lead, mirrors, all sorts of dried fruits, salt fish, wines, cheeses of Holland, oil, olives, vinegar, and other such things, that are in high esteem there; moreover, printed books, for there is no printing in the Indies.² White cloths they carry not out, for there is abundance of cotton there, as of all sorts of silk and gold stuffs. All these other merchandises are in great demand, and bring a profit of four for one, the provisions being as much as six and seven to one.

The order of Goa is that the viceroy is absolute in all things and in all places, so far as relates to the service of

¹ India was practically in the hands of the Portuguese. The King of Spain had the expense of fitting out the carracks at Lisbon, and all he got in return was the cargoes of pepper which they—or rather the survivors of the voyage—brought home; and to get even this supply of pepper he had to send out the silver for its purchase. In matters of administration he had the appointment of the governors and higher officers. All the lower offices were sold by the governors. F. y Souza and De Couto show that in every account against the king there was gross speculation, and that at this period Spain drew no revenue from India.

² A mistake. The *Colloquios da India* of Garcia de Orta was printed at Goa in 1563, apparently by a private printer, Joannes de Endem. Later, if not then, there was a press at the Jesuits' College, at which the books of P. de la Croix and Father Thomas Stevens were printed—of the former in 1634; of the latter in 1640. The first Malayalam type is said to have been made at Cochin in 1577 (Whitehouse, *Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land*, p. 154). In 1578, Father João de Faria cut Tamil types and printed on the Pescaria (Tinnevely) coast in the same year the *Flos Sanctorum* and other works (see Burnell, *Elements of S. Indian Palæography*, 2nd edit., p. 44).

the king and the good of the state. And if he acquit himself not of his charge, they can only write to the king, making mention in articles of the matters wherein he has failed, and thereupon the King of Spain signifies his will. For Goa is ruled and governed like Lisbon itself, as I have described more amply above, and there are no Spaniards or *Castillanos* (as they call them), wherefore the Portuguese like to be there much rather than in Portugal, where the Castillanos domineer over them; at Goa they are the masters, and they would complain still more were it not for the fear they entertain of us and other Europeans. And but for the opinion they had that we were come to spy them out and to dispossess them, they would rather we had been among them than the Spaniards; but they are so jealous of their state that they desire that none should have any knowledge of it. And when they saw us there they spoke injuriously of us in the streets, with endless contumely: even saying to us that had come from France in our own ships that we ought to have had the permission of their king. They are a whit more gracious to foreigners who set out from Lisbon with them and in their fleets, yet they fail not to maltreat them and to suspect them, saying they have *engañado el Rey*, that is to say, deceived their king, and have passed for Portuguese. And true it is that one gets a passage only by great favour, and as a Portuguese; and further must have the licence and passport of the viceroy, and be registered in the roll of the *Casa d'India*. When they have news that any ships of the English, Hollanders, or other Europeans of these parts are coming, they seize incontinently all foreigners that are found in their towns, and make them prisoners. All the other strangers, such as Italians, and all those of the Levant, are far better received amongst them—indeed, like the Portuguese themselves.¹

In short, their traffic is such that all the Oriental peoples

¹ See above, p. 6.

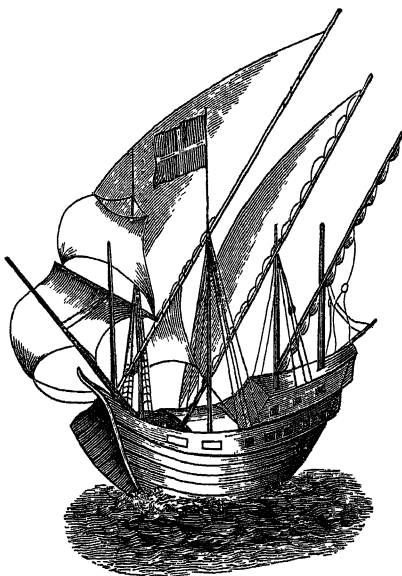
from the Cape of Good Hope, as far as China and Japan, bring their merchandise to Goa; while the Portuguese also go to seek it at the ports of all these people, at least of such as are in peace and amity with them. These places are China, which means the island of *Macao, Japan, Malaca, Pegu, Bengal, Ceylon, Comory*, and all the coast of Malabar, as for instance *Coilan, Cochin, Calicut, Cananor, Onor, Mangalor*, and the other places as far as Goa: thence to Mozambique, including *Bassains, Daman, Chaul, Dabul, Cambaye, Surate, Diu*, and so along the coast to Ormus, thence to Arabia, and from there to Mozembic. All the merchandise of these lands is brought to Goa and collected there; but the pepper remains always in the granaries, or cellars of the countries where it grows, until the ships of the King of Portugal are arrived at Goa. And if they cannot make Goa, they must make Cochin or Coilan, not any other port. And when they go there, it is due to the currents and winds that carry them thither, and prevent them getting up to Goa. Very often, too, though some ships have arrived at Goa, some nevertheless go to Cochin. After they have discharged the goods they have brought from Portugal, often the King of Cochin is unwilling to give the pepper, until the ships go there to load it; for his council represent to him that his country profits by this—as is true enough: for when the ships go there, there are sometimes on board them some four or five hundred persons from Portugal, all fresh comers to the Indies, most of them knowing nothing of the value of merchandise; they carry nothing but silver, wherewith the victuals of the ship are procured; and all this greatly enriches the country. But when the ships do not leave Goa, the Portuguese of Cochin go thither with their cinnamon and other goods which they have had at fair prices, or by barter of other merchandise. And when the ships are laden at Cochin they return not to Goa, but take the direct route to Portugal, passing at the head of the Maldivé islands, which is to the north of the line.

For the rest, all the armies and fleets coming from the south towards Goa, at the conclusion of their voyages, as soon as they double a Cape, called *Capo de Ramos*, twelve leagues from Goa, fire all their cannon as a sign of rejoicing, as being then safe from the pirates—this Cape being the boundary separating Malabar from Dealcan. In like manner those that come from the north, when they have sighted *las Islas Quemados*, at twelve leagues from Goa, for then are they out of danger.¹

¹ *Islas Queimadas*, or *Ilheos Queimados*, the “burnt islands”, small desert islands off Goa, to the north. V. Le Blanc (i, 95) says the same, probably copying Pyrard.



A Carrack (after Vandyck)



A Caravel (*from a MS. at Havre*).

CHAPTER XVI.

Of the traffic to Brazil, the River de la Plata, Angola, Congo, St. Thomas, Mina, and the Slaves of Africa.

The Portuguese that carry on the sea trade to Brazil, the West Indies, Angola, and other places on this side the Cape of Good Hope, use not great vessels in this behalf, but only caravels,¹ whereof the largest are not more than six or seven score tons burthen ; or else they use round ships, bought of

¹ The caravel, or carvel, was, according to Crescentio, first used by the Portuguese as a swift despatch vessel for the service of the fleets of carracks. At this time it was chiefly employed in the Brazil service, and but little in that of India, except in conveying extraordinary despatches. It was a round ship—that is, driven by sails only. It was four-masted, the foremast carrying two square sails and the other three each a lateen sail. These, with its curved keel, enabled it to tack very smartly and to sail very near the wind (Crescentio, *Nautica Mediterranea*, p. 526 ; Jal, *Le Moyen Age*, tom. ii).

the French, English, or Flemings. For the caravels have lateen sails, and are masted differently from those round vessels, which have square sails; also they are of greater burthen, viz., about two hundred tons. Thus do they steer a course for Brazil, setting out from Lisbon, laden with all manner of European merchandises necessary for the life or convenience of men, such as linens, woollen, and silk cloths, wines, oils, and other things, whereof they take in the greater part on their way at the Canary Islands and the Azores, among other things, wine, wheat flour, salt beef, oxhides, and salt fish. The Azores wine is much poorer than that of the Canaries and Spain; also the flour cannot be kept for long without difficulty. All these merchandises they obtain in exchange for others brought from Portugal. They carry out all these goods, because Brazil produces neither wheat nor wine; it grows no grain, nor even has any mills, wherefore they have to buy all the flour ready ground from Portugal; also the wheat would spoil on the sea during so long a voyage, seeing that that which is carried from France to Spain is liable to be spoiled, and to stink in such wise that only the common people will eat bread made of French wheat; the rich eat that made of country wheat, which also is dearer than the other.

So then the Portuguese, laden with all these merchandises, take a course for Brazil, so as to land at one of the ports of that country, and principally at Fernambucque,¹ where there is the greatest trade in sugars, and where grows the greatest quantity of Brazil-wood. Next there is the Bay of All

¹ Pernambuco, still vulgarly called Fernambouc by the French. Its trade, now insignificant compared with that of Bahia and Rio, was then the greatest in Brazil. "It is the greatest town in all that coast", says Lopez Vaz (1586), "and hath above 3,000 houses in it, with seventy *Ingenios* for sugar, a great store of Brasill-wood, and abundance of cotton, yet are they in great want of victuals: for all their victuals come either from Portugal or from some places on the coast of Brasill" (*Hakluyt*, iii, 787).

Saints,¹ and other places on this coast (of these we shall speak more particularly hereafter), where the same trade is carried on, but not to the same extent as at Fernambucque. On their arrival they sell and dispose of all their goods, partly for silver, and partly for the country merchandise. Then they return without prolonging their voyage, after waiting there three or four months to collect their silver and make their purchases, which consist only of sugars and preserves of all sorts. As for red wood or brazil,² they are forbidden to carry any of that under pain of death: the King of Spain keeps that for himself, and it is his only article of traffic, as is pepper in the East Indies. As for ginger, he prohibits that too, because the great quantity of it in those parts would prejudice the sale of his pepper. So none dare bring thence aught but preserves. Thus laden with sugars they return straight to Portugal, setting out ordinarily in August or September, and arriving in November, for they are usually two months and a half on the passage.

All the wares brought by the Portuguese, as well from there as from other distant countries, on entering Lisbon pay thirty per cent.; and the Portuguese cannot depart out of Brazil ere they have given security and caution that they are going to Portugal, and that all their merchandise is registered. And though by stress of weather, or some other lawful cause, they should be constrained to make land elsewhere, whether on the territories of Spain or elsewhere,

¹ The full name was *S. Salvador da Bahia de todos os Santos*; then generally called *S. Salvador*, and now simply *Bahia*. (See further, ch. xxvi.)

² The original *brazil* was the sappan wood of India. On the discovery of South America the name was given to other species of *Cæsalpinia*, found chiefly at Pernambuco, and also affording a red dye; and hence the name of the country. The name "Brazil-wood" is now exclusively appropriated to the American wood (Yule, *Gloss.*). Brazil-wood was imported into England at least as early as Edward I:—"E si ceo seyt marchaundise qe seyt vendue e peysee par centeyne, com brasyll, alum, etc." (Domesday of Ipswich, in *Black Bk. of the Admiralty*, ii, 189).

and to pay dues for discharging their cargoes there, yet will they not escape paying the dues again in Portugal, the farmers of the customs having obtained the right to them. For the rest, no foreigners—that is, none but the Portuguese and Spaniards—durst traffic in this land of Brazil these ten or twelve years past.

Sometimes the Portuguese, willing not to return directly to Portugal, but to make a longer voyage, do sell there a part of their cargoes, such as they can to the best advantage, and relade their ships fully with meal of *Mandoc* (a root whereof I shall say more hereafter),¹ along with the rest of their merchandise wherewith their ships are already laden. Thence they take their course toward the kingdom of *Angole*,² in Africa, which lies due eastward from Brazil, distant thence about a thousand leagues or more, and also a Portuguese possession. It is at eight degrees from the line toward the south on the coast of Africa, between Guinea and the Cape of Good Hope. It is the poorest country in the world, and living is exceeding dear there, for it produces only some fruits. What costs ten sols in France will cost forty in Brazil, and one hundred there. No other traffic is carried on but in negro slaves; the Portuguese hold it solely for this, and would not otherwise inhabit it, for the land produces only some fruits and cattle, and but small store of these. Moreover, in Spain they but seldom put their malefactors to death as we do in France: they send them all to these desert countries to traffic there. The Mandoc meal that costs only forty sols the *alqueira*,³ a weight of about forty pounds, in Brazil, is

¹ See ch. xxvi.

² The coast of Loango, Congo, Angola, and Benguela was discovered in 1484 by Diogo Cam. It became the headquarters of the slave trade. The Portuguese still possess it, but their authority does not extend far inland.

³ Port. *alqueire*: a measure for grain, of which 60 = 1 moio; also a liquid measure = 6 canadas or 12 pints. Ar. *alqueile*: from *cala*, to measure (D. Vieira, *Dict. Port.*).

worth sometimes eight francs there. As for the merchandise of Europe, it is twice as dear as in Brazil. They barter their merchandise there for slaves, whereof there is the greatest possible abundance; and they hold that this is one of the largest and clearest revenues of the King of Spain from all these coasts, for it is without expense or cost, and he takes ten cruzados a head on all slaves exported, old and young: and when they are landed in another country to be sold there, or to be kept there awhile, they pay another thirty per cent. on their value. Moreover, after their first purchase they cost nothing, depending only upon the ship for their sustenance; and sometimes a great number die.

As for the small money of this land of Angola, it consists only of little shells, somewhat like those of the Maldives, and little pieces of cloth made of a certain herb. These pieces are an ell in length, more or less, according to the price. And when they go to market to buy their goods they carry no other money. This country costs nothing to the King of Spain, and he draws large profits from it. Up the country there is a mine of silver, which the natives sometimes work. The Portuguese there, and those of Mozambique and *Sofala*, wish to join from the one side and the other to conquer it, and reach this mine to work it¹: it will cost them twenty-five sols to get forty, and the silver is very good and pure. The cause that more ships go not to Angola is that the air is very intemperate and noisome; besides that, they fear the coast of Guinea, which is also intemperate and full of calms. This is the cause that makes living so dear and slaves so cheap there: when they are got away they become of great value by reason of the risks run.

Such as wish to return directly to Portugal, return laden with slaves; but they that would make a longer voyage take them to sell at the river *de la Plata*, where they obtain

¹ Referring to the mines of Monomotapa, as to which see next chapter.

much silver, and thence they betake them to Brazil to relade with sugars and preserves, and thence to Portugal. Others go directly from Angola to Brazil to sell their slaves, for vast numbers are required there to work their sugar-mills; the slaves of America not being capable of so hard work, nor so obedient as those of Angola and Cape Verd; therefore most frequently these latter are taken to the West Indies, and there sold at high prices. The River of La Plata is at 35 degrees toward the south in America, that is, at nearly the same altitude as the Cape of Good Hope. They that go thither go secretly and in fear, because the King of Spain has prohibited traffic on all that coast, seeing that they cheat him of his dues; and all the silver got thence is carried secretly, so as it cannot be discovered, because of the strict prohibition and penalty of death; wherefore, in order to win it, they lash the sacks full of silver to their anchors, and when the king's officers are withdrawn they weigh their anchors and haul the silver again on board; thus all the silver from that coast is gotten in fraud and robbery of the dues of the King of Spain. Nevertheless, they forbear not to carry away great store thereof—indeed, all the silver at Brazil and Angola comes from that place.

This river of *Plata*,¹ or “silver”, is so called because it flows at the foot of the mountain of *Potosi*,² whence is gotten most of the silver that comes from the West Indies. There these merchants sell their slaves at good prices, and bring

¹ The Rio de la Plata is merely the estuary of the Paraná, the Uruguay, and other great rivers. It was first discovered in 1515 by Juan Diaz de Solis, and then called Rio de Solis. The name La Plata was given to it by Sebastian Cabot.

² The famous mountain of Potosi, in Bolivia, in lat. 19 deg. 36 min. S., 14 degrees at least north of the La Plata estuary; it is the water-shed of the Pilcomayo river, which feeds the Paraná and ultimately the Rio de la Plata. Potosi down to 1846 yielded no less than £300,000,000 sterling in silver. At this time (1611) the town contained 160,000 inhabitants, but now not more than 11,000. For its history, see D. Vicente Ballivian y Rojas' *Bolivian Archives*.

away only silver; then they go and fill up with sugars at Brazil. Throughout all the dominions of the King of Spain, especially on this side the Cape, slaves are in great demand—I mean in America, not in Africa, for those in Brazil have need of them for their sugars, and there is no mill but has more than a hundred of them at work; likewise they require them for their other works. They like one *Cafre* slave, that is, an African, better than three of Brazil, the latter not being so strong as those of Angola and Cape Verd, and willing rather to die than do aught contrary to their mind, albeit they are a cowardly and feeble folk. But the greatest profit that is made of these slaves is in taking them to the West Indies direct, for there they fetch high prices; and in exchange there are gotten gold, silver, or fine pearls or cochineal. The Portuguese have also another trade to Guinea and to *Congo*, where they obtain ivory (called by them *Morfie*¹) in great abundance, also cottons and long pepper (called by them *Maniquete*²) and slaves. There the natives are exceedingly fond of iron and all sorts of hardware.

On the same coast are the islands of S. Thomas, of the Prince and Anabon,³ where they (the Portuguese) carry on a traffic in ginger, sugars, cotton, and slaves. There is also *la Mina*,⁴ where is a castle in their service, and a great trade

¹ Port. *marfim*.

² See Col. Yule's note in *Cathay, etc.*, p. 88, and G. de Orta, ff. 50-52, from which it appears that *maniqueta* or *maliqueta* was sometimes applied to species of cardamoms; at others, as here, to Ethiopic pepper. Col. Yule states that Columbus calls the Guinea coast *Costa de Maniqueta*.

³ All these islands were discovered in the voyage of João de Santarem and Pedro de Escobar (1470-1): St. Thomas on that saint's day (21st December 1470), Annobon on New Year's Day, and the I. do Principe on the 17th January 1471. The last, accordingly, was named after St. Anthony, but was afterwards called "Do Principe", because the king's eldest son had assigned to him, as his appanage, the duty on the sugars grown in the island (Major, *Discoveries of P. Henry*).

⁴ Now generally called El-mina. It was discovered on the voyage last mentioned in 1470. The castle was called S. Jorge da Mina

is carried on with the country folk in gold and slaves. They have also the islands of Cape Verd, where they traffic in slaves, bartering for them iron and other cheap metals and hardware. It is the same all along the coast of Africa, on both sides of the Cape; the greatest wealth is that of slaves, whether at Mozambique, Sofala, or *la Mina*, where gold and ivory are also found. Insomuch that the vast number of slaves taken thence every year, and carried to America and Portugal, is a marvellous thing indeed, without counting those that remain in the country in the service of the Portuguese and the kings of that coast; moreover, within and about those lands the greatest tribute that is obtained of the people consists of these slaves. For of a certain number of children, the father and mother are bound to give some to their kings, who sell them. And even the fathers and mothers sell their offspring for their own profit; in such wise that there is a traffic in human beings there as in cattle here. These slaves are esteemed the strongest, most robust, courageous, faithful, and obedient in the world, so are they thus highly prized. They are all negroes, and the Portuguese call them *Cafres*. Such as are the issue of Portuguese and Cafres they call *Mulastres*. There are certain parts of the country where the slaves are better, and more esteemed for their good temper.

In all these foreign lands there is no Portuguese, however poor, whether man or woman, but has his two or three slaves, who win their master's bread, owing him a certain portion of every day's time, and supporting themselves to boot. It would be impossible for the Spaniards and Portuguese to inhabit those lands and to make them worth the possession but for the energies and service of the slaves; for

(Major, *P. Henry*, p. 200). It fell into the hands of the Dutch in 1638, and was long their headquarters on the Guinea coast. Recently (in 1872) it was transferred to Great Britain (*inter alia*) in exchange for her rights in Sumatra.

Spain is but small in extent, and poorly furnished with men in comparison of the territories she holds and the vast traffic she maintains with so much trouble and travail. The possessions of the Portuguese, as well on this side the Cape of Good Hope, at Angola, Guinea, and the adjacent islands, as in Brazil, are held in a different manner from the East Indies: for in the former places they are sovereign lords for the most part, like the Spaniards in the West Indies, without other competitors, having fortresses both on the coasts and within the country, which mostly belongs to them, or is being continually conquered by them. There are Portuguese lords that have their noble mansions there, and till and cultivate their domains, and manufacture sugar, just as they would here. Toward the River of S. Vincent¹ there are gold mines conquered by them, whence they already draw some profit. Wherefore, Brazil and Angola are vastly profitable to the King of Spain, with little cost and little hazard, the navigation being easy and safe; and, moreover, these countries relieve Spain of her fruits and merchandise: for the King of Spain permits none of the fruits of Spain to be planted or sown there.

CHAPTER XVII.

Of the traffic at Mozambique, Sofala, Coïesme, Melinde, Mombase, Socotera, and other places.—Of the siege of Mozambique, and what happened there.

With regard to the traffic of Mozambique, Sofala, Coïesme, and other places, I will speak first of *Mozambique*,² whence very

¹ A small river to the north of Sierra Leone, in lat. 9 deg. 30 min. N.

² Mozambique, discovered by V. da Gama, 1498. The first captain, Duarte de Mello (1505), built a fort, which was replaced by a more imposing structure in 1557. It was visited by Varthema (1507) and Barbosa (before 1517).

rich cargoes are brought to Goa, chiefly of slaves or Cafres, which are carried everywhere; but besides them, ivory, and ebony the blackest and most excellent in the world; and note that the Portuguese call it *pan de Mozambic*, meaning the wood of that country; there is also some ambergris. This place is of vast importance to the King of Spain, as well for the commodities which he draws therefrom, as that it serves him greatly in his government and navigation. For it is an island, a fortress, and a haven, well adapted for a refuge to ships on the outward voyage from Portugal to Goa, after they have passed the Cape of Good Hope. So that all that are afflicted by storm, disease, scarcity, or other ills take refuge there. You might call it a sentinel or a bulwark at the entering in of the Indies, or a kind of hostelry for the refreshing of the Portuguese, worn out with a long and toilsome voyage, when they have been for so long time at sea without touching land, sometimes spending seven or eight months amid such heat and calms as attend the passage of the line (especially about the coast of Guinea, which is exceeding intemperate and unhealthy); hence are produced the many ailments of scurvy and pestilential fevers, whereof full many die. Insomuch that it is no wonder they are glad enough to fetch some port for their refreshment, and there is none nearer than that of Mozambic, seeing they are under orders not to make land ere they get there: for their ships are so great and draw so many fathoms of water that they cannot touch at the nearer ports which are in their service. Wherefore, when they go to others, it is when they are forced thither by tempest against their will, and then most often they lose themselves, or at least their voyage.

Thus is it for them great joy to arrive there, after having doubled the tempestuous Cape of Good Hope and passed that dangerous land of Natal, which none do without meeting with storms and other accidents which dismast their ships, opening the seams, and breaking the yards or rudders, and

sometimes both. At this favourable spot, Mozambic, the King of Spain keeps a hospital and a magazine to furnish necessities to the fleets, and it is for this sole consideration that he has the place so well fortified and garrisoned, rather than for the profits which he draws from the trade. Without it, it would be exceeding difficult to make the outward voyage to the Indies. In like manner it is convenient for them on the homeward voyage to make the island of St. Helena.

The Hollanders having remarked¹ how profitable this place was to the Portuguese, and what trouble it would cause them to lose it, resolved to take it, and laid siege to it twice, once for the space of three months. The first occasion was in the year 1607, the second in 1609. The first siege² was carried on by eight large vessels; but they could not take it, and only lost a large number of men: albeit they took the island and the unenclosed part of the town, which they

¹ The Dutch had visited the place at least twice before the sieges, viz., in 1601 and 1604. Van der Hagen arrived on the 17th April 1604 with eight ships, and would have laid siege to the island but for the expected arrival of the Portuguese fleet. The soundings and notes of the fortifications taken on this reconnoitre were used for the two sieges.

² Paul van Caerden left the Texel with eight ships and 1,060 men on the 20th April 1606, and arrived before Mozambique on the 29th March 1607. He landed without difficulty, and entrenched a position at the Dominican convent. An attempt to effect a breach failed, owing to the strength of the walls and the weakness of the guns. Resort was then had to mining, but in this open working under screens was necessary, the soil being merely sand. They succeeded in getting within 15 or 16 feet of the walls, but the Portuguese destroyed the screens by grenades, and poured a deadly musketry fire upon the besiegers. During the siege, which continued to the end of May, the Portuguese suffered terribly from want of water, the population of the outer town having crowded into the fortress; as did the Dutch, from excessive heat and sickness. Van Caerden then demanded a ransom for the outer town, and a haughty reply being returned by the governor, D'Ataide, the Dutch proceeded to burn the whole outer town, including three churches, and to cut down the precious plantations of coco and other fruit trees. They also burnt three ships found in the harbour, and left the place on the 29th June,

burned on both occasions. The second siege¹ was by thirteen large vessels; but they fared no better. At the commencement they took a rich Portuguese carrack that was anchored before the fortress, and having pillaged it set it on fire. At that time the place was easy enough to take, but since then they have fortified it strongly, as they have all their other places in the Indies, since they have had the Hollanders and other foreigners there to disturb them. The Hollanders also lost there a big cannon, and a ship that was wrecked in setting sail out of the harbour.

Another misfortune also befell them during the siege, for

¹ Admiral Pieter Willemz Verhoeven left Holland in Dec. 1607 with thirteen ships and 1,800 or 1,900 men. His instructions were to await and capture the outward-bound fleet of carracks, and the siege of Mozambique was entered upon, after a council of war, professedly *pour passer le temps*. On the 28th July 1608 he arrived in the harbour, and there found a carrack and two small ships. The carrack, with her crew of thirty-four men, surrendered to two Dutch yachts without striking a blow, and yielded a rich cargo of Spanish cloth, ivory, ebony, wine, and oil. Verhoeven landed a force of 600 men, who took up a position, as before, at the Dominican convent, and used the same trenches by which Van Caerden had approached the fortress the year before. A demand for surrender was answered by Estevão d'Ataide with a sarcastic refusal: it would take better men than they to win his fortress, which was "not a cat that could be touched without mittens". The besieged again baffled the miners by their grenades and musketry, and on the 8th August made a sortie which inflicted serious loss on the advanced guard of the Dutch. A retreat was now ordered, and nothing remained but vengeance. Three deserters had joined the besieged, though the Dutch were aware of only one, whose surrender was demanded under threat of putting to death the whole crew of thirty-four Portuguese prisoners taken in the carrack. D'Ataide returned the spirited reply stated in the text below—the only one possible for a soldier and a man of honour. On the 17th August all the thirty-four (as the Dutch narrative admits, and not only six, as stated below in the text) were led out to the trenches in sight of the fortress and there shot down in cold blood. The outer town, or what remained of it, was then sacked and burnt; and on the 23rd Verhoeven left the place, with a loss of thirty killed and eighty wounded, and with his own name tarnished by an act of ruthless barbarity.

three of their men, being malcontent, deserted them, and gaining the land, betook themselves to the Portuguese in the fortress, and gave the Hollanders vast trouble: for, but for these three traitors, they had infallibly taken the place, as I heard afterwards. The garrison were exhausted and were resolved to surrender, but these three bade them take courage, giving them to understand that the Hollanders were disposed to raise the siege for want of supplies both of munitions of war and provisions: and this was true enough. They said further that what had moved them to come over to them was their desire to become Catholics, and that they had been shipped against their will. This was false, for they were three good-for-nothing scoundrels, as I myself know, for I have since seen and spoken with them. The Portuguese made great ado about having won these three men, and especially the Jesuits thought they had done great things in the conversion of these knaves; but it was all a make-believe, for they had no devotion or affection for the Catholic religion. What had, in fact, caused them to desert was, that they could not endure fatigue, and were not good for any work; also they thought they would become somebodies among the Portuguese, who indeed took a great pride in the three rascals. The Hollanders, seeing they were betrayed by men that had informed their enemies of the straits wherein they were, resolved to raise the siege. They were also afraid of the coming of the carracks from Portugal, whose time was drawing nigh, for they could have burned their vessels; and in fact they did arrive seven or eight days after the siege was raised.

The Hollanders, before their arrival at Mozambic, had taken a ship coming from Portugal, the prisoners whereof they still had, and to get back their three men they bethought them of an expedient, and a cruel and barbarous one it was. They sent to ask a parley of the governor, who was named *Don Estevan*, a brave and gallant lord, offering to

give up all the Portuguese prisoners they had, provided those three were surrendered to them; otherwise they would put six of the chief prisoners to death in his sight. The governor made answer that the ordinances of war forbade him to give up men that had come willingly to them in order to serve their king, or to expose them to the discretion of enemies that would put them to death; that he would rather be their executioner himself. As for the Portuguese that they had, they were prisoners of war, therefore they could put a price for their ransom, which for their part they would fully pay: should they, however, slay them in cold blood, that would not be the act of gallant men of war. They were for a whole day at this parley without coming to any conclusion. Seeing this, the Hollanders resolved to put to death the six Portuguese, who were all married men, rich, and some of the principal ship's officers, such as pilots, master, etc. So they bound them with ropes, their hands behind their backs, and led them outside their trenches, holding the rope's-end within the trench. The poor men cried for the mercy and pity of the governor to move him to relent; but he was contented to exhort them to die with resolution, saying that he could not surrender the three Hollanders, for that God and the king forbade it, seeing they had given themselves up to be converted; whereupon the Hollanders slew those six men with arquebuse-shots in the sight of their fellows, and then raised the siege and departed to Sunda.¹ As for

¹ The authorities for the sieges of Mozambique are:—For the first, the Voyage of Van Caerden, in *Rec. des Voy.*, tom. iii; *Arch. Port. Or.*, Fasc 1, pt. ii, No. 16. As to the second, the Voyage of Verhoeven, *Rec. des Voy.*, tom. iv; *Arch. Port. Or.*, *ib.*, No. 17; and as to both, *Faria y Sousa*, tom. iii, pt. ii, ch. vii, and especially a full description by a Spaniard who served under the Portuguese, entitled, *Cercos de Mocambique Defendidos por Don Estevan de Atayde Capitan General y Gouvernador de aquella Plaza. Escritos por Antonio Duran, soldado antiguo de la India*. Em Madrid, 1633. This rare work is in the British Museum, and is noted by J. F. da Silva in his *Dicc. Bibliog.*

the three Hollanders, they were afterwards brought to Goa, where they were made but little of; on the contrary, they were subjected to a thousand insults, and were sent back to Portugal with us. One of them was in the same carrack with me, and was scolded and buffeted by all on board. He told me he was a native of Switzerland, and that he was with the late Monsieur de Mercure¹ when he died in Germany on his return from Hungary, and that one of his companions, after being taken by the Turks, came by land to Goa, where they joyfully met again.

But to return to Mozambic, it is a little island,² at the end and point whereof is the fortress which is toward the east and defends the harbour. The island is within a great bay full of shoals and banks, and the passage is very narrow and difficult of entrance, having these shoals and banks on either side, insomuch that you require pilots of the island, and to

The miserable condition of the place after the sieges is described by Mocquet, who arrived there a fortnight after Verhoeven left (*Voy.*, p. 229, *et seq.*).

¹ Philippe, Duc de Mercœur (b. 1558). He was chief of the League after the death of the Guises in 1588, and submitted to Henri IV in 1598. In 1601 he commanded the army of Rudolf II against the Turks in Hungary. Returning from this campaign, he died at Nuremberg, 1602.

² The following description of Mozambique is given by Capt. W. F. Owen, who took part in the Admiralty Survey of Africa, 1821-4 :—"The harbour of Mozambique is formed by a deep inlet of the sea, five miles and a half broad and six long, receiving the waters of three inconsiderable rivers at its head. At the entrance are three small islands, which, together with reefs and shoals, render the anchorage perfectly safe in the worst weather. Of these islands, that of Mozambique, on which stands the city, is formed of coral, very low and narrow, and scarcely one mile and a half in length. It is situated nearly in the centre of the inlet, and just within the line of the two points that form its extremities. The other two islands, St. George to the northward, and St. Iago to the southward, lie abreast of one another, about 1,500 fathoms distant, and nearly three miles outside that of Mozambique. They are also of coral, surmounted by a rich mould covered with verdure and trees, but without inhabitants" (Owen's *Narrative*, i, pp. 187-8).

keep the lead continually in hand. The entrance is in a slanting course; but with a good pilot and in fair weather you can enter in all safety, and find good bottom. But there is no port or harbour in all the Indies where the Portuguese have lost so many vessels as in this bay. To enter it you must keep your head—that is, your prow—to the west, and thus you have the north on your right hand and the south on your left. On the north is the mainland, and toward the south are two small uninhabited islands side by side, at about a league from Mozambic. The one nearest is called *S. Jacques*; and the other, which you see but little of, as it is behind the former, is called *S. George*. Betwixt the island of Mozambic and the mainland there is only half a league of sea to cross. On the south side it is all shoals and sands, but on the north is the harbour, where there is good bottom. The island is very small, being no more than three-quarters of a league in length and half-a-quarter broad. It is equally peopled in all parts, not being in the form of an enclosed town, and having only the fortress, which is of fair proportions. The soil of itself is very sterile, and there is no fresh water save what is kept in some cisterns, and it is brought from the mainland in boats. Within the fortress there may be some five or six churches, chapels, and monasteries. Vessels can approach the island as near as they like, for the coast is quite safe, and has a good sandy bottom; but they cannot sail around the island, but only on the north side, for the south is beset with shoals and reefs.

This island is on the coast of Melinde, or Ethiopia, about 18 degrees from the equinoctial, toward the Antarctic Pole: it is distant from Goa about 900 or 1,000 leagues, and 600 or 700 from the Cape of Good Hope. It is low-lying and very sandy, and the air is very unwholesome. Provisions are brought from the mainland, where coco-trees, oranges, citrons, bananas, and other Indian fruits are grown. There

are vast numbers of cattle, such as oxen, cows, sheep, pigs, goats, etc. All these animals are exceeding cheap, and like those of the island of St. Lawrence.

In Brazil and at Mozambic hog's flesh is deemed the most dainty and delicate of all; and the physicians order it for the sick, forbidding all other. There is also good store of fowls, very good and delicate, but all of black plumage; and the flesh is the same, whether cooked or raw.¹ This is strange to those who have not been used to see and eat it; it seems as if the flesh had been cooked with some black dye, and the soup is the same.

Before the Portuguese came to the island of Mozambic it was not inhabited,² as much on account of its small size as of its want of fresh water; and to this day it is inhabited only by Portuguese, Metices, and Cafres of the mainland, most of those being slaves of the Portuguese.

Of the neighbouring peoples of the mainland, some are their friends, others their enemies, with whom they wage a very cruel war continually. The Portuguese have no spot of ground in all the Indies so bad for victuals and residence as that, for all their provisions must come from Goa, and the viceroy allows no goods to be brought from elsewhere, save some petty commodities brought in barques from adjacent places. All sorts of merchandise are in request there, and every year the viceroy of Goa sends thither a number of vessels charged with Indian and Portuguese goods, which return laden with slaves, ivory, ebony, wood, and a quantity of purified gold that is found in the rivers. Nevertheless, were it not for the touching of the ships from Portugal there, they would never inhabit the place; but it is of vast importance to them in this behalf. They are also continually

¹ Only the bones are black, though Linschoten too says the same of the flesh. See Dr. Burnell's note in *Linsch.*, i, 25.

² Not so. When V. da Gama arrived, he found Mozambique a town of importance, under a sheikh, and the island of S. Jorge also inhabited.

increasing their conquests on the mainland.¹ From Mozambic they carry some vastly pretty mats to Goa, and all the merchandise that comes thence is exceeding cheap.

It would be difficult, nay impossible, for me to distinguish all the nations that are between the Cape of Good Hope and the Arabian Gulf or Straits of Mecca, by reason that they have divers names, and yet are all alike, resembling the negroes of Cape Verd or of Guinea. The people, as well of Mozambic as of the adjacent mainland, are all Cafres, albeit of divers kingdoms and languages. They carry on a cruel war among themselves, for they slay, kidnap, eat, and sell one another for slaves. They are without faith or religion, and should nowise be trusted, being all cheats and perfidious knaves. They go all naked, without even covering the privy parts: in disposition they are exceeding clownish and brutal, suited to labour like beasts; nor do they mind being slaves, even saying that their condition should be none other. Fathers and mothers sell their own children; they eat of everything like brute beasts; they are without ambition, yet passionate, disdainful, treacherous, and mischievous. They stink abominably, and even worse when they are heated.

On the same coast, about six score leagues from Mozambic towards the Cape, is the kingdom of Sofala,² where the Portuguese have a kind of fortress, but of little consequence. It is under the government of the captain of Mozambic, who keeps a factor and a merchant there to treat and traffic with the country people. The captain formerly resided at Sofala, and not at Mozambic, and even now bears the title of

¹ They made wars and expeditions, chiefly to get possession of the inland mines, but never to this day have they reduced the surrounding country to obedience.

² The fort of Sofálah was built in 1505, and is said to have been a good one in 1508 (*Varthema*, 290). For long the captain resided six months at Mozambique, and finally altogether there (João dos Santos, *Hist. d'Ethiophe*, 1684, p. 15). For a modern description of the place (1823), see Boteler's *Voyage*, i, 346.

governor of Sofala, and not of Mozambic: the former being one of their ancient settlements, he has more pride in being called governor of the one than of the other. Some have held the opinion that this Sofala is Ophir,¹ whence Solomon drew his gold for building the Temple (though others will have it towards the golden Chersonese or Malaca, and China; others even at Peru), and there are manifest signs that great quantities were aforetime drawn from mines near the Portuguese fortress. The factor there collects good store of gold, which he sends to Mozambic; and all the gold the Portuguese have comes from trafficking with the kings and peoples of that land. For the Portuguese themselves fish not (*ne peschent*) for it in the rivers, but the people of the place only. There are factors, too, at other places than Sofala, both for the gold and for other merchandise. About thirty leagues from Mozambic, between Sofala and Mozambic, is a river in the country of Couesme,² otherwise called the "Black River", where they find much gold, purified, clean, and in dust: this they call gold sand; and it is held that the gold of Sofala and of the river of Couesme is the purest and finest in the whole world. These mines of Sofala and Monomotapa are indeed marvellous, being all of fine gold in dust or gold sand, which cannot be more refined. I have seen a branch of massive purified gold of a cubit's length, branched like coral, that was found thus in its natural state in the river of Couesme. This shows that gold is in veins in the earth, and has spread like water, and the hardest gold has remained compact in the form of the mould. That piece of gold was carefully preserved, and was sent in the ship wherein I embarked at Goa, to be taken to Portugal as a present to the Queen of Spain.

¹ So Milton: "And Sofala (thought Ophir)", (*P. L.*, xi, 400). Camoens (*x*, 124) says of the Chersonnese:

"Aurea por epithêto lhe ajuntarão ;
Alguns que fosse Ophir imaginarão."

² Cuama, the Zambesi, also called Rio Negro by the Portuguese.

At the time of my departure from the Indies the Cafres round about Mozambic were in active warfare against the Portuguese; and the viceroy then in office at Goa, in passing by Mozambic, had left there his nephew and a number of men to carry on the war and to make conquests and discoveries. This young man, who was a new comer, wishing to show his gallantry, made attempt with some galiots and other vessels to go further up the river of Couesme than any Portuguese had yet been; but he never returned, and remained there with the most of his men, while the rest with great trouble got back. The viceroy hearing of this, was exceeding vexed, and resolving to be avenged, he employed the services of the captain and governor of Mozambic, who was the same that had the command during the two sieges, and was one of the bravest and gallantest lords to be met with among the Portuguese, a friend of God and man, and especially of foreigners. He was called *Don Estevan de Zaida*.¹ He had won a marvellous fame among his countrymen, and even the Indians, for having sustained the two sieges with the small forces at his command, taken unawares as he was: for which services he looked for conspicuous reward at the hands of his king, inasmuch as captains after three years' service usually return rich, with a hundred thousand cruzados, more or less, in their pockets, gotten

¹ D. Estevão d'Ataide, for his services rendered and great personal loss incurred during the sieges, had his term of office prolonged, with the title of Capitão Mór. On making the expedition up the Zambesi, referred to below, d'Ataide effected an arrangement with the viceroy, L. de Tavora, whereby he was to have for himself a considerable share in the traffic of the forts he was to establish and in the produce of the mines. This contract, on being reported, was annulled by the King of Spain, as being beyond the powers of a viceroy. D'Ataide was ordered to Goa, where an inquiry was instituted, with directions that he should make restitution of all profits made by him. The result does not appear. Probably it ended in nothing (*Livro das Monções*, vol. ii). D'Ataide died at Goa, and was buried in the church of St. Paul (Botelho, *Africa Oriental*, 1855, p. 322).

as well out of their dealings and traffickings as by means of their larcenies and underhand practisings ; but he through these two sieges had spent all his own fortune instead of making any profit. Wherefore he was continued for another year in this government beyond the ordinary three years.

The viceroy then advised his council that an enterprise must be made upon these Cafres, and a naval armament sent thither, whereof this *Don Estewan* should be general, as he was experienced in those parts, having made this long sojourn of four years there. Their intention was to go far up this river of Couesme, then to land and to get possession of these gold and silver mines that are between Angola and Sofala, and that the Portuguese of Angola should be warned of their coming and should join them at a rendezvous, and that they should proceed together thence to the conquest. For this purpose the drum was beaten in Goa for all to come that would. To these a year's pay—that is, 72 perdos (each worth $32\frac{1}{2}$ sols, or 25 sols of France)—was advanced. I was greatly importuned to go, for all foreigners are permitted. But I feared lest they should leave me there to guard their mines without being allowed to touch the contents. They started the same day on which we embarked on our return : for they set out from Goa for Mozambic at one time in the year only, viz., about January, February, or March, sooner or later, because of the *Muesons*, or Monsons, whereof they have to take good heed. On returning to Goa they set out about the month of August or September. From Goa they carry to Mozambic all sorts of European and Indian merchandise, such as wheat, rice, silks, cotton cloth, spices, etc. But this commerce is not free to all the world : the viceroy and captain alone can take into partnership whom they will. This trade is one of the best and most useful in all the Indies, for they sell what they like and all they bring, and carry back other good merchandise, as I have said above.

On the coast of Melinde the Portuguese have another fortress, called *Bombasse* or *Mombase*,¹ where they carry on a great trade; but they consider not this fort to be of great importance: it is between Mozambic and the Straits of Mecca. Then, at the entering in of this strait, toward the coast of *Abexis*, otherwise of Prester John,² at twenty leagues from the mainland—that is, the Cape of *Gardafunt*—is an exceeding great and fair island, named *Socotera*.³ The Cape of Gardafunt is the nearest to it, advancing far into the sea, forming on one side the Strait of Mecca, which is the limit of the coast of Africa and Melinde. This island is at the entrance of the gulf, but leaning toward the *Abexis*. It is about fifty leagues in circuit, well peopled, and has a king of its own, who holds it of the Cherife King of Arabia. The people are Mahometans, and a mixed race of Abexis and Arabs, but they call themselves Arabs, and preserve the manners, customs, and language of that people. The land abounds with cattle and fruits, and the people trade at Goa, where they are well received—better indeed than the Arabs proper, who durst not come thither without a passport, and that they rarely seek. These Socoterans traffic all along the coast of Arabia, and thence to Goa and elsewhere, with passports from the Portuguese like the other Indians. They are habited in the Arab fashion. They carry back the merchan-

¹ Mombasa, discovered by Vasco da Gama in 1498; yielded up to D. Alvarez Cabral in 1500; attacked and burned by F. de Almeida in 1505; besieged by Nuno da Cunha, 1528; surrendered to the Turks in 1586. Again taken and burnt by the Portuguese in 1588; retaken by the tribes in 1589, and again by the Portuguese in 1596. Their possession lasted till 1720. It was held by the British from 1824 to 1826, but is now nominally subject to Muscat. (For description, see Burton's *Zanzibar*, ii, 28.)

² For the history of Prester John, see Col. Yule's article in *Encyc. Britannica*.

³ Socotora has never been a coveted possession. Albuquerque built a fort upon it, but this was soon abandoned. It has been recently annexed to our Indian Empire.

dise of India to Arabia. Their island produces a marvellous quantity of dates, which they bring to Goa, selling a pound of the finest and best in the world for a liard: a pound of the dearest at Goa is worth only two liards. They have also much rice; they bring also very pretty *Esteres*, or mats made of palm leaves; large quantities of incense, which is so common at Goa that they cover the outsides of their vessels with it, as we do here with tar or pitch. They possess also good store of aloes wood.¹ They are a very courteous people, but not to be trusted. Two English ships² had once cast anchor there for refreshment and traffic, and had been well received of them, and had been for nine or ten days on friendly terms; but at length the king had a fancy to play them a bad turn, and feigned to give a feast in their honour, as he had before this done to others, in order to entrap and slay them, and seize their ship: so the said Englishmen told me afterwards at Goa.³ But the English, whether out of distrust or on what other ground I know not, were advised of it in time, and full speedily withdrew. This island produces also some horses, so that on the whole it is in great estimation in the Indies. All that come thence to traffic at Goa are either Arabs, or at least have the same manners and dress, both men and women.

¹ The best aloes is known by the name *Aloe Socotrina* (see Yule, *Gloss.*). Aloes-wood is a mistake of Pyrard's. That is an entirely different thing, *Aloexylon agallochum*, or "eagle-wood", the aloes of the Old Testament. Bluteau, in his *Vocabulario*, makes the same confusion.

² The *Dragon* and *Hector*, in April 1608. See journal of the *Hector*, Capt. Wm. Hawkins (*Hawkins, Voy.*, 383).

³ They had been captured by the Portuguese at Surat. See further, ch. xx.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Of the kingdom of Ormus: a description of it, and of the punishment of a Prince of Ormus at Goa.

Next, at the commencement of the coast of India, is Ormus, a very great kingdom, distant from Goa 500 leagues, near Persia, at the entrance and over against the straits of the Persian Sea. In that sea is a little island (under the altitude of 26 degrees or thereabouts to the north of the equinoctial) of only three leagues circuit, called Ormus, from the town, for the island used to be called *Gerun*.¹ It is distant about three leagues from the mainland of Persia, and some ten from that of Arabia. The island and town are held and possessed by the Portuguese,² who have built a fortress there, good and well garrisoned. This island after Goa is the richest, and has the largest revenues of any in the Indies possessed by the Portuguese, for it is a great mart

¹ The ancient city of Ormuz was on the mainland. Owing to repeated Tartar invasions, it was removed to the opposite island, *Jerún* (old Persian form *Garín*; the *Gerum* of Camoens, and *Gerun* of the text). On this trachytic rock, as unpromising a site as the lagoons of Venice, arose and flourished (from the end of 13th to the 17th century) a city whose fame in the East almost rivalled that of Venice in the West.

The relative positions of Old and New Ormuz are seen in Col. Yule's map, *Marco Polo*, i, 108. The ruins of the ancient city are described by Sir L. Pelly (*ib.*, p. 105). As to the aspect of the island city at the present day, see Palgrave (*Cent. and East. Arabia*, ch. xiii).

² Ormuz was possessed by the Portuguese from 1507 to 1622, when it was taken by Shah Abbas, with the aid of the English E. I. Company, William Baffin, the navigator, losing his life in the operations. On its re-annexation to Persia, the insular site was no longer required, and a new emporium was built at Gombroon, on the opposite shore—thenceforward also named Bunder Abbas; but this place never equalled in prosperity the famous city, founded upon an absolutely sterile islet, which was to Milton the type of Oriental splendour.

of merchandise where all goods are landed, principally the wealth of Persia; and besides that, the merchandises of India are brought thither in great quantity for the furnishing of Persia, Syria, and all the Levant.

The merchandises that come thither are all valuable, for it is the staple and landing-place for all goods from Persia, Arabia, Armenia, Turkey, Europe, etc., which are brought thence overland by caravan; likewise all Indian goods are landed there. From Ormus to Goa come, firstly, the fine pearls from the fishery at an island of the Gulf, called *Baharen*,¹ toward the coast of Arabia beyond Ormus. They are the fairest, biggest, and cleanest of any found in the East Indies. The fishery produces a vast quantity; hence comes the name given to these of "Oriental pearls". Secondly, there comes thence much of that silver money that is called *Larins*,² the finest silver in the world: these are called larins of Ormus. Thither, too, are brought quantities of Persian silks, both in the piece and worked, and in other forms. Next, what we here call Turkey carpets, and the people of those parts Persian and Ormus carpets, the most exquisite and the best made in the world. Then there are horses of Arabia, Persia, and Ormus, the handsomest and most beautifully caparisoned possible; being all covered with gold, silver, silk, and pearls, in the Persian and Ormus mode, as also in the Portuguese: they fetch a high price at Goa.³ Then come all

¹ *El-Bahrayn*, the "two-sea island" (as Burton explains); the seat of the pearl fishery of the Persian Gulf.

² See vol. i, pp. 232-4.

³ All the best horses at Goa, as now at Bombay, came from the Persian Gulf, and were shipped at Ormuz. Cæsar Frederick travelled in a vessel from Ormuz, carrying eighty horses to Goa. After the Portuguese conquest, and for the greater part of the 16th century, horses paid a heavy import duty at Goa. This duty was afterwards remitted, and in order further to stimulate the trade, all goods brought in ships carrying twenty horses (*C. Frederick*, p. 4), and latterly ten (*Wm. Barret*), were allowed to come into Goa free of duty.

kinds of sugars, conserves, marmalades,¹ raisins or dried grapes of Persia and, Ormus, and much big dates which are very excellent. Next, many watered camlets² of Persia and Ormus, of all colours, made of the wool of large sheep that have not curled fleeces like ours. Of it they make also good store of cloaks and capes, called by the Indians *Mansaus*, and by the Portuguese "*Ormus cambalis*":³ they are made of the same wool, in bands of different colours, each four inches wide. Everyone takes these to sea for a protection from the rain. The tissue is the same as of cloth. They make also other cloaks, capes, and mantles of felt, like our hats, which resist the rain well.

As for the drugs, aromatic, medicinal, and others, it were difficult to specify all that come from Ormus, whither so many are brought from elsewhere, nor to tell all the merchandises brought from the Indies and Europe. In short, it is the common proverb in those lands, that if the world were an egg, Ormus would be the yolk⁴; for it is the best place in the world, whether for its fertility (that is, of the rest of the kingdom, for the island itself is desert and barren of all produce) or for the convenience of its situation for the traffic of all parts. The merchandise and goods of all the world must pass there and pay tribute to the Portuguese, who search all the ships to see if any merchandise is being carried

¹ Port. *marmelada*, i.e., made of quinces, from *marmelo*, a quince; in France, about this time, or later, also used of various *entremets*. Thus we have in *Le Pâtissier François* (Amst., 1655), "*Marmelade ou œufs brouillez au verjus sans beurre*"—"avec beurre"—"*à la crème*"—"au fromage", etc.

² So called because originally made of camel's hair. Fr. *camelot*.

³ *Kambala*, the modern Anglo-Indian "cumbly", a coarse woollen wrapper or blanket. About this period it was Anglicised as *camball*, but this form did not survive.

⁴ Another proverb made the world a ring and Ormuz the gem:—

"Si terrarum orbis, quâquâ patet, annulus esset,
Illius Ormusium gemma decusque foret."

(Sir T. Herbert, *Travels*, p. 105.)

that is contraband and prohibited by their king. But that is the place where the governors fill their pockets, inasmuch as they will for money let everything pass. These governors aspire to no other dignity than that of viceroy, and they go there solely to that end. For they enrich themselves in marvellous wise in the three years of their office from the heavy dues and tolls they exact upon all things: to do which with impunity, they make great presents to the viceroy. He that was governor there while I was at Goa was called *Don Pedro de Coustigno*,¹ a Portuguese lord of a very great house. He had a brother at Goa, also a great lord, that had made a very wealthy marriage, and was called *Don Diego de Coustigno*. He had bought the government of Cochin for his life—for that is the only office in all the Indies that is for life, the captain there having no other profit but his pay and his honour, because there is a *Viador de Fasienda*, as at Goa, who is general overseer of all that belongs to the king, and is changed every three years, so that the captain touches nothing.²

But to return to this governor of Ormuz: it was said at the time that he was returning from his three years worth more than 600,000 crowns. He returned to Portugal with our fleet. At Goa, with his benefactions, liberality, and alms, he made

¹ From the *Livro das Monções* it appears that Pedro Coutinho was captain of Ormuz from 1604 to 1607. He was succeeded by Henrique de Noronha (*v. s.*, p. 78). As stated below, he remained at Goa till the end of 1609, living with great display—probably in the hope of succeeding to the government of India in case of a casual vacancy.

² This is a mistake as regards Diogo Coutinho, who was both captain and *vedor da fazenda* at Cochin (*Liv. das Monç.*, ii, 119). This officer was among the few at this day whose public spirit rose above personal aggrandisement. In 1604 his services at the bar of Goa against the Dutch are warmly commended to the king by the municipality of Goa (*Arch. Port. Or.*, Fasc. i, No. 13). He remained captain of Cochin throughout the governments of De Tavora and Azevedo, freely expending his private wealth in the equipment of ships, etc. He won the respect and confidence of both these governors, and is highly eulogised by the historian Bocarro (*Dec. XIII, passim*).

a show like the viceroy, but not in dignity and honour: for the viceroy *Don André Furtado de Mendosa* and he were on any but good terms. Don André, holding the office of viceroy, had asked him to lend 50,000 perdos for the king's service, promising to pay him back in Portugal or in the Indies, whichever he wished; the other refused, and when the viceroy replied that it was to provide pay for a naval armament against the Malabars, this governor said that he was a man to equip an army and lead it himself for the king's service, and not to give his money to another. This was the cause that on their return these two embarked not in the same ship: the viceroy went first, intending to arrive before the other in Portugal, to get the better of him and thwart his designs; but he died on the way, as I shall tell hereafter. When these governors return they carry no large cargoes of merchandise, but only pearls, precious stones, ambergris, musk, gold, silver, and other rare and precious things. When I left Goa, the son of the viceroy *Don Loyso Lorencio d'Establo*, who was aged only twelve or thirteen years, was already appointed to the government of Ormus, and was entering upon it.¹

This island is exceeding sterile, having no fresh water: it is all the same as the island of Mayo, on the Cape Verd coast—for it is all rock-salt, which they use as salt. There is also saltpetre there.

The Kings of Ormus pay tribute to the King of Persia, and are in peace and friendship with the Portuguese. They are Mahometans, like the Persians, and they cause the eyes of their successors to be put out, like the Kings of Dealcan.²

¹ See above, pp. 78, 81.

² As to the Deccan, see above, p. 137. This barbarous practice is most frequently related of the kings of Ormus, e.g., by Varthema (p. 96), Barbosa (p. 44), Linschoten (i, 46), and Teixeira (*Relaciones*, 1610, p. 40). The last named states that the eyes were scorched to blindness, not actually put out.

The people of Ormus are almost as black as the Moors of Ethiopia, and nowise resemble the Persians, who are fairer.

When some men of authority die at Ormus, their wives are obliged to mourn for them once a day, by the space of four consecutive weeks ; there are also women paid to bewail the dead.

The inhabitants wear long shirts, girding them at the waist with a broad band of taffetas, as do many of the Indians and all the Arabs. On their heads they wear white turbans, diversified with many colours. Many of them wear rings in their noses. They speak Persian, and are much addicted to fornication, and above all to the unnatural sin. They love music and instruments of music.

Their arms are gilded Turkish bows, the strings whereof are of fine silk ; they are of a very strong and well-set wood or of buffalo horn, and their arrows are neatly made of gilt canes. They are exceeding adroit in the use of the bow. They carry also iron clubs, well made and damascened.

It is now about ten or twelve years since the brother of the King of Ormus came to the Portuguese at Goa, in a ship laden with great wealth, to become a Christian, as he said : he had also some quarrel with his brother. He was received with all the honours possible, and had one of the finest houses in the town allotted to his use.¹

After being some time at Goa, he asked the Portuguese to aid him to recover his share of the inheritance, giving a promise to transfer to them all he could recover, if they would give him a pension. The Portuguese sent a powerful army to the kingdom of Ormus, and made terms with the king

¹ Turun Sháh, the prince referred to, a younger brother of the reigning King of Ormus, for some years resided at Goa, where he petitioned the King of Spain to support him against his brother. The cause was referred to the High Court, with special instructions to decide the matter according to the best policy (*Liv. das Monç.*, i, 14, 15, 50).

that he should give up certain lands to his brother, which was done.

But it happened that this prince at Goa, who every day promised to become a Christian, and never did, committed sodomy with a young scholar, a Portuguese Metice; for which crime he was condemned to be burned by the office of the Inquisition at Goa. This sentence was carried out some four or five years since,¹ although the prince before his execution was converted, and baptised by the Jesuits; and notwithstanding that he offered 500,000 crowns to be spared, and, further, to build some churches in expiation of his sin. But all these promises were of little avail to move the Portuguese, who had in their possession already all he promised them.² Besides, he had been already rebuked and reprimanded.

¹ *I.e.*, before 1611, the date of the first edition.

² The execution of this prince for the crime mentioned probably seemed to the King of Spain to be impolitic, and Pyrard has previously said (*supra*, p. 91) that the king was greatly incensed against Menezes for his conduct in the matter. In the *Life of Menezes* by Fr. Agostino de Santa Maria, prefixed to the latter's *Hist. da Fund. do Real Conv. de Sta Monica* (Lisb., 1699), it is admitted that the High Court and all the notables of Goa were against the execution, and that slander attributed the archbishop's resolution to a desire to annex the prince's property. The biographer states that when the king wrote, the archbishop was able to show that the whole of the prince's property was in the Treasury. In his despatches, however, he nowhere openly reprobates the sentence; but in 1610, apparently with the policy of playing off claimants against those in possession, he issued letters patent reinstating the sons of Turun Sháh in all the rights and titles of their father (*Arch. Port. Or.*, Fasc. 6, No. 105).

The death of Turun Sháh is described by the Jesuit Guerreiro (*Relaçam, etc.*, 1609, f. 135b), and by the Carmelite Philippus a Sanct. Trinitate (Lat. ed., 1649, lib. v, c. i). Both these writers say that he was beheaded, not burnt. Guerreiro's account (curtailed) is as follows:—"On the sentence being communicated to him, a Father of the company went to speak to him of his soul's salvation. On a subsequent day he sought holy baptism. The Father obtained from the governor and the royal courts a respite of three days for his catechising, during which by day and night our Fathers were with him continually, and by turns catechising and instructing him in the matters of our faith. On the day

manded many times for this heinous vice, to which he had promised never to return: albeit he again fell thereinto, and so met with well-deserved punishment. As for the poor young Portuguese, he was put in a barrel and cast into the sea, for fear of scandal.

CHAPTER XIX.

*Of the Kingdoms of Cambaye, Surat, and of the Grand Mogor ;
Diu, and the rest of the coast of India ; Malabar, and the
King of Tananor and his perfidy.*

Having spoken of Ormus, I come in their order to Cambaye and Surat, whence comes the greatest and cheapest traffic of Goa, from which it is distant about 100 leagues to the north. This traffic is such that two or three times a year there come together from 300 to 400 vessels, called *Cafiles*,¹ of Cambaye, like the caravans of Aleppo. At Goa the whole city looks out for these Cafiles and fleets, as in Spain they await those from the Indies. And when they arrive not at their due season, every one is in apprehension of the Hollanders, or the Malabars, or the Cambayans themselves, who frequently stop them when ready to set out, as happened the year I left

fixed for the execution he walked forth from the prison with his eyes fixed upon the crucifix, the Misericordia following behind. The Padre Preposito and four other Fathers marched by his side. On reaching the place where he was to suffer, the Padre Preposito baptised him by the name of Sebastian, first putting to him all the requisite interrogatories, whereto he replied with the warmth of conviction. So he who could not attain an earthly kingdom, for which he had striven for the space of five or six years, in a moment attained the kingdom of heaven for his eternal possession."

¹ Port. *cafila*, the Ar. *kāfila*, a body or caravan of travellers; regularly used in Portuguese documents, as here, for a fleet of merchantmen under convoy (see Yule, *Gloss.*, s. v.; also in latter sense, *Liv. das Monç.*, i, 3, 334; iii, 228, 440).

Goa, and on many previous occasions: the fleet had been ready for more than two months, but was not allowed to proceed to Goa, insomuch that all were already crying famine. This was for a grievance the King, or Bascha, of Cambaye had against the viceroy of Goa, who had refused him something: for although this king holds of the Grand Mogor, as lord of all those lands, yet is he absolute in all things that prejudice not the Mogor's service.

When this fleet does arrive the joy of the merchants and the whole people is marvellous; and in truth it is a very pretty and pleasant sight to see so many sail together: but it is seldom that the Malabar corsairs fail to capture some of them. Every ship or galiot is worked by oars, so as to keep the coast, and to speed against the wind: they have all their own ensigns, and the livery of their several lords on their flags; and the merchants to whom they are consigned recognise them afar off. They have some war galiots for their escort, and when they arrive at Goa there is much cannonading from the town, the fortresses, and the viceroy's palace, before which they come to anchor, as do all the other vessels, for there is the *alfandegue*, and the warehouse and the royal steelyard. There are but few of the inhabitants of Goa, whether Christians or other, that have not a share in this fleet, or at least in some of the ships at Goa and the other ports of the Portuguese; for along with this fleet come many ships from Cambaye, Surat, and other places.

As for the merchandise which they bring, it consists in the first place of *Anil* or *Indigue*,¹ which is a violet-blue dye, obtained at Cambaye and Surat, whither it is brought from all the neighbouring country, and prepared in those two towns alone. This merchandise is greatly dealt in, and much prized even by the English and Hollanders; and the principal cause that they keep their factors there is to get

¹ Port. *anil*, from Ar. *al-nīl*, "the blue", Sansk. *nīla*, i.e., indigo; the latter being the Greek *Ἰνδικόν*, (see Yule, *Gloss.*, under both heads).

these dyes. Secondly, they bring good stores of precious stones, not of the fine sorts, such as diamonds and rubies, but other kinds, which they know how to cut skilfully, and to work into a thousand pretty things. Next, much rock-crystal, iron, copper, rock-alum, a vast quantity of the best wheat in the world, which is reaped twice in the year: and they say that if it were not for the Portuguese they would not sow it at all, because they are not used to eat bread. This is the cause that bread is eaten so cheap at Goa; for the Metices and most of the Portuguese prefer to eat of the rice that is grown in great abundance in Cambaye, and thence exported to Goa. Besides these, they bring vegetables of endless variety, such as peas, beans, lentils, and others of all kinds and colours, even peas from China, which are eaten there like the rest. Next, medicinal drugs, butter, oils of divers sorts, as well for eating as for perfume, and for rubbing the body withal; white and black soap; sugars and conserves, paper, wax, honey, much opium or poppy-juice, wherein is great traffic and sale among the Indians, as well Moors or Mahometans as Christians.

But the principal riches consist chiefly of silk and cotton stuffs, wherewith everyone from the Cape of Good Hope to China, man and woman, is clothed from head to foot. These stuffs are worked, the cotton also made into cloths of the whiteness of snow, and very delicate and fine, and is also woven of a medium and of a thicker stoutness for divers uses. Others are bespangled and painted with various figures. The silk-work is the same of all these kinds, the articles imported being pillows, counterpanes, and coverlets, pinked with much neatness, and cleverly worked: these they call *colches*.¹ Then there are quilts stuffed with cotton, painted and patterned exceeding prettily. Next, they bring couches and bedsteads, that are painted and lacquered with all

¹ Port. *cólchas*, coverlets or quilts; v. s., p. 4, note.

manner of colour and design; and other domestic furniture of the same use. Then bands, which they call *Parcintes*,¹ for the sacking of beds, chairs, stools, joint-stools, and other seats: they are made of fine white cotton. They make also cotton beds in the form of nets, like those of Brazil; not, however, used for sleeping o' nights, but when they go to the country they are borne therein by two or four men as in a palanquin or litter, and much at their ease: they are used all over India. Also they make carpets of the fashion of those of Persia and Ormus, but not so fine or so dear, for they use the rougher and longer wool; the patterns are, however, the same; they also make small cotton carpets with bands of many colours.² They also make cabinets in the German style, inlaid with pieces of mother-of-pearl, ivory, gold, silver, and precious stones, the whole neatly fitted. Also other little cabinets, coffers, and boxes of tortoise-shell, which they polish so clear that nothing can have a prettier effect, the shell being patterned by nature.

In short, I could never make an end of telling such a variety of manufactures, as well in gold, silver, iron, steel, copper, and other metals, as in precious stones, choice woods, and other valued and rare materials. For they are all cunning folk, and owe nothing to the people of the West, themselves endued with a keener intelligence than is usual with us, and hands as subtle as ours: to see or hear a thing but once, is with them to know it. A cunning and crafty race: not, however, fraudulent, nor easy to defraud. And what is to be observed of all their manufactures is this, that they are both of good workmanship and cheap. I have never seen men of wit so fine and polished as are these Indians: they

¹ This word is not in Vieira or Roquete; nor can I find it used elsewhere than in Linschoten (i, 61): "*Persintos*, that are stringes or bands, wherewith the Indians bind and make fast their bedsteddes, thereon to lay their beds." The Hindustani is *newár*, and these bands are still used to form the flat of a bed (*charpoy*).

² The *dari* ("durry") or *sittrinji* of modern India.

have nothing barbarous or savage about them, as we are apt to suppose. They are unwilling indeed to adopt the manners and customs of the Portuguese; yet do they readily learn their manufactures and workmanship, being all very curious and desirous of learning. In fact the Portuguese take and learn more from them than they from the Portuguese; and they that come fresh to Goa are very simpletons till they have acquired the airs and graces of the Indies. It must then be understood that all these countries of Cambaye, Surat, and others (in the region) of the river Indus and of the Grand Mogor, are the best and most fertile of all the Indies, and are, as it were, a nursing-mother, providing traffic and commerce for all the rest: so, too, is the kingdom of Bengal, where their manners and customs are the same. The people, both men and women, are there more cultivated than elsewhere; those countries are the mart of all the ships of India, and there living is better than anywhere else.

Cambaye is a great kingdom, giving its name to the metropolitan city, where the king hath his residence. The town is in the altitude of twenty-three degrees this side of the Equinoctial. The Gulf is twenty leagues broad at the mouth, and the town is at the farther end of the Gulf. This country has its own king, who is a vassal of the Grand Mogor, and a Mahometan by religion, though most of his people are Gentiles. But every man lives according to his own religion, by reason whereof one sees here men of all laws and sects. After Goa, I have never seen in the Indies any city so famous and opulent as is Cambaye, chiefly for its commerce and traffic. The principal nation and race there are the *Banians*, who are in such numbers that one speaks only of the Banians of Cambaye: they are to be found in every port and market in India, along with the Guzerates, who are Mahometans of Surat and other (neighbouring) lands. The Banians, on the other hand, observe the same manner of life as the Bramenis, albeit they wear not the cord. These

people are better versed in the sciences, above all in mathematics and astrology, than any other; for the rest, honourable men, well habited, and of good conversation. No people in the world know so much about pearls and precious stones; and even at Goa the goldsmiths, lapidaries, and other workmen occupied with the finer crafts are all Banians and Bramenis of Cambaye, and have their own streets and shops.¹

The town of Cambaye is one of the greatest and richest of all the coast of India, where merchants resort from all quarters of the world. The language of all those countries, as also of all others belonging to the Grand Mogor, and of Bengala and those neighbouring thereto, is the Guzerate language, which is the most widespread and useful, being understood in more places than any other Indian tongue. The men and women of Cambaye, Guzerate, and Surat are in colour somewhat olive; but handsome, and well-proportioned. The women, who take care of their complexions, are also pretty, fair, neat, and well-bred, more so than the women of these parts.

But having spoken of Cambaye and Surat, countries appertaining to the great King of Mogor,² methinks I must say something of this prince, according to what I heard in those parts. This Grand Mogor, whom they call the great *Achebar Pachat*,³ that is, "Great Sovereign King", is the most puissant king in all the Indies that I had knowledge of, and wondrous stories are told there of his grandeur and magni-

¹ "There is also another street where the Benianes of Cambaia dwell, that have all kinds of wares out of Cambaia, and all sortes of precious stones, and are verie subtile and cunning to bore all kinds of stones, pearles and coralls" (*Linschoten*, i, 228).

² Here used, as frequently by the Portuguese, of the country (Yule, *Gloss.*, s. v. "Mogul").

³ "The Great Pádsháh." Akbar the Great died in 1605, and was succeeded by his son Selim, under the name of Jehanghir, the emperor referred to in the text. There is no ground for applying the name Akbar generically to the Mogul emperors.

ficence. He resides chiefly at three cities; one is called *Dirly*,¹ the second *Agra*, and the last and greatest of all, where he more usually lives, as being the capital of his empire, is *Lahor*,² which is more than 120 leagues from the coast of Cambaye. He can put in the field 30,000 elephants, 80,000 horse, and 200,000 foot. His ordinary guard is 10,000 men, who are ever stationed for seven leagues round his person. When any would come, whether to speak with him or for their private concerns, the first guard they meet conducts them like ushers to the next, and so on from one to another, until they are arrived at the city, where they are handed over to those who have the charge of them: and note, that the first guard that delivers them to the second are obliged to get a ticket of the deliverance for their discharge, and so with the other corps of guards, and so do they know all that have come and gone. These soldiers of the guard are paid every week. They say in these Indian countries that this king is the Great Tartar, as he is called; but it would seem that the Great Cham of Tartary, so renowned these 300 years, is another more remote, towards the north and east, beyond China and towards Cathay. These Tartars are the best soldiers, the strongest, most powerful, and skilled in war to be found in the world. They carry thick bows of iron, which the strongest among us could hardly bend even a little. The riches of this prince are inestimable; for he has divers houses and stores apart for his pearls, gold, silver, precious stones, and other things of price. A Baschat once came to his court to render account of the tribute he had brought; but he had nine whole months to wait ere he that had the office to receive it had time and leisure to count it, because of the great number of other

¹ Delhi.

² Agra had been the chief city of Akbar. Jehanghir preferred Lahore, but also kept court at Agra, where about this time Captain William Hawkins visited him (*Hawkins' Voy.*, 436).

vassals that were arrived before him to render their like accounts. Hence may be understood the extent and riches of the territories of this prince.

He likes the Jesuits much, and has them always about him, respecting and honouring them greatly. None of all that come to his presence does he rise to salute, except them ; for when they enter any place where he is, he rises from his place and makes them be seated. There are Jesuit Fathers at the towns of Lahor, Dirly, and Agra, though but few in each place. They have built churches, and have the liberty to preach and to convert as many as they can, so long as it be voluntarily. Nevertheless, hardly any are converted. All the Jesuits in the Indies also say, " It is more easy to convert fifty—nay, a hundred—Gentiles or Idolaters than one Mahometan." The late King *Achebar*, or Grand Mogor, who died six or seven years ago,¹ promised and gave hope that he would become a Christian,² making but one request, viz., that he should be permitted to keep all his wives, as his religion allowed ; and pending solution of this question he died. His son and successor drove out the Jesuits, and even the other Christians, and treated them roughly ; but this he did to get himself settled on his throne : for afterwards, two or three years ago, he recalled the Christians to his court, as they were in the lifetime of his father.

When this prince Achebar died all India was in disquietude and alarm, for the war that was feared would ensue in those parts : for that king was greatly dreaded and feared of all the other Indian kings. And it can be said with assurance that he is lord of the fairest and best countries, and

¹ Probably dated from 1611, the year of the author's first edition.

² The Jesuits confidently hoped that they were effecting his conversion, and afterwards insinuated that he had died a Christian, though without open confession ; P. Manouchi relating that he saw in Akbar's tomb images of the Virgin and of St. Ignatius (*Catrou, Hist. of the Mogul Dynasty*, p. 135).

of the most valiant people in the world, as the Tartars are. Many of his people, too, are exceeding rich and cultivated. None speak of the Turk in all the Indies, but only of the great *Achebar*; and when his subject-kings themselves speak of him, they bow their heads in token of respect. He is on good terms with the King of Persia, and oftentimes sends him presents and embassies as his ally. He gives assistance to this king or *Sophy*,¹ who is called the Great *Chaa*, against the Turk. He that is at present the grand *Achebar* had a son² that rebelled against him, but was taken and brought to the king, who, not willing to put him to death, is content to hold him prisoner. He has great affection for strangers, and there was at one time at his court an agent or ambassador of the King of England.³ This prince is so curious, that when any ambassadors or other sorts of persons come before him, he questions them who they are, and of what quality in their masters' courts; and so he did to those sent by the Grand Turk. And so it is, when he knows all, he despises them and their masters, and keeps them about him, giving them money, offices, and dignities, indeed, all that they can desire, in such wise that these ambassadors quit their office of embassy and tarry there, as did the Englishman, according to what I heard from the English at Goa.⁴ In the

¹ From *Sūfī*, *Safavī*, or *Safī*, the name of the dynasty which reigned over Persia for more than 200 years (1499-1722). (Yule, *Gloss.*, s. v.) The Persian king was always known as "The Sophy", in distinction, as in the text, to "The Turk" and "The Mogul". Colonel Yule quotes *Twelfth Night*, iii, 4: "They say, he has been fencer to the Sophy."

² Khuzru.

³ Captain William Hawkins, from 1609 to 1611; he was succeeded by Sir Thomas Roe in 1615, but, as appears below, the reference is to the former.

⁴ Hawkins was induced to remain, after presenting his letters and obtaining the Mogul's answer; and also to marry a daughter of Mubarik Khan, a Christian Armenian, who afterwards accompanied him to England (*Hawk. Voy.*, p. 404).

services of his table and chamber this prince is waited upon by the fairest girls and women that are to be found.

In connection with Cambaye, Surat, and other territories of the Grand Mogor, it remains to speak of Diu,¹ an island that was aforetime a dependency of the kingdom of Cambaye, and is still inhabited by the same races, viz., Banians, Bramenis, Gentiles, and Mahometans. When the Portuguese went there first they made a treaty of peace and friendship for the purpose of trade with the King of Cambaye, as with the others; in such wise that the king permitted them to reside in the island, which, as time went on, they fortified so strongly that they became absolute masters of the place, and rule there to the present day. They have built two fortresses, and made the town strong with bastions. The King of Cambaye has besieged them on two occasions, but saw no prospect of success, and so at present they are good friends.

¹ The Portuguese had factors at Diu from the time of Albuquerque, but had no fortress till 1535. Then Bahádur Sháh of Guzerat, being attacked by the Emperor Humáyun, made a defensive alliance with the Portuguese, whereby the latter were allowed to build a fortress at Diu. Between the parties, however, there was but little confidence, or even good faith, and in the next year Bahádur Sháh was killed in a scuffle on landing from a Portuguese ship. This led to the first siege of Diu in 1538, by Muhammad III, assisted by 7,000 Turks, the fort being successfully defended by Antonio de Silveira. The same king conducted the second siege in 1546; this was ended by the celebrated relief of Dom João de Castro, who achieved a brilliant victory over the besiegers, and reduced the whole island, which to this day remains a Portuguese possession. It has a population of over 10,000, and some of its great buildings still remain. The authorities for the sieges are:—For the first, *Diensis oppugnationis*, by Damião de Goes; *Prim. Liv. do Cerco de Dio*, by Lopo de Sousa Coutinho, Coimbra, 1556, fol.; for the second, *Commentarius de rebus a Lusitanis in India, apud Dium gestis anno 1546*, by Diogo de Teive; *V. de João de Castro*, by F. Andrada; and for both, Barros, *Decada V*, and F. y Sousa. The inscriptions of Diu have been published by Mr. J. H. de Cunha Rivara (*Nova Goa*, 1865). There is a plan of the fortress (as of the others mentioned below) in the Resende MS. (Sloane Coll., No. 197).

This island of Diu is very near the mainland of the Cambaye coast, twenty leagues north of the entering of the Gulf, and thirty leagues from the great town of Cambaye. It is of great renown, and brings in good revenues to the Portuguese in consequence of its good port and haven, wherein vessels ride in complete safety, by reason of the protecting fortresses. It is the mart and staple for all the vessels coming from Cambaye, Surat, the Red Sea, the Persian Sea, Ormus, and other places in the Indies. The merchants land there willingly enough, as well for the good haven as for the cheapness of commodities; also because they fear to enter the Gulf, where contrary winds often prevent them coming out; but the chief cause is that the Portuguese constrain them to touch there, so as to reap the dues and customs, and thus to make the place more prosperous. It is worth much to the King of Spain. The people there carry merchandise to and from Cambaye in great barques of fifteen to twenty tons burthen each, with a full cargo each way. The Malabar corsairs make their profit out of these, for they seize as many as they like; and I have seen them while I was there seize at one swoop forty or fifty of them, and that was no uncommon occurrence. This island of Diu is passing fair, rich, and fertile; innumerable vessels touch there, and render it the most wealthy place in the Indies after Goa: for you live there very cheaply, and with all the conveniences and luxuries imaginable; and nowhere in all the Indies is there greater freedom with women than there. Even the soldiers in the Indies go to spend the winter there with great pleasure. All nations and religions meet there freely; but the Portuguese are masters. Indeed, there is more liberty of conscience than at Goa, where there is exercise of none but the Christian religion. The country abounds in beasts, fowl, and other food-stuffs, while everything else is brought from the mainland in great plenty. The climate is very good and healthy, so that the place is of the highest

importance and profit to the Portuguese, and they are at pains to guard it well.

From Cambaye and Diu the course is along the coast of Goa, and thence to the Cape of Comori. This is what is properly called the coast of India, that is, from Cambaye to Goa some 100 leagues, and from Goa to Cochin another 100, and from Cochin to Comori 60, so that the whole coast is about 260 leagues. The whole region between the Cape of Good Hope and China is not properly called India, but only this coast¹; the other parts have separate names. So, when one is making a voyage from Goa, one says to which quarter one is going, whether to the south or the north coast. "The north" is from Goa to Cambaye, "the south" from Goa to the Cape of Comori; but when one is at any other place, and wants to go (for instance) from Cambaye to Comorin, you say that you are going along the coast of India. On that coast between Cambaye and Goa the Portuguese hold but three fortresses, and those not so great nor so important as the others. Starting from Cambaye, the first town and fortress you come to is *Daman*, then *Bassains*, and then *Chaul*. Beyond Chaul is another fortress called *Dabul*,² but it is not in the service of the Portuguese, and they have only a factor there. All this coast is good country, fertile and salubrious, and supplies much wealth and commodities to Goa and other parts. But these three fortresses held by the Portuguese are held at the pleasure of the kings of the country, who are vassals of the Grand Mogor. Daman³ furnishes much rice

¹ See vol. i, p. 334, *note*.

² Taken by Almeida in 1509, but lost to the Portuguese in 1526. A very ancient and flourishing mart (*Barbosa*, 71; *Varthema*, p. 114; *India in XV Cent.*, iii, 20); it sadly dwindled under the adverse influences of the Portuguese monopoly, until at the end of the 17th century its commerce was a thing of the past (*A. Hamilton*).

³ Sacked by the Portuguese in 1531, rebuilt by the natives, and afterwards, in 1558, taken by the Portuguese. They hold it still, with a small district, under a governor subordinate to the Governor of Goa. There

to Goa; from Bassains¹ comes all the timber for building houses and vessels; indeed, most of the ships are built there. It also supplies a very fine and hard freestone, like granite; and I have never seen columns and pillars of single blocks so large as what are produced there. All the magnificent churches and palaces at Goa and the other towns are built of this stone.

The town and fortress of *Chaul*² is quite different from the other two, because the country there is vastly rich, and

is a good account of Daman, as it was in 1634, in the *Chron. de Tissuary*, iii, p. 217, from A. Bocarro's *Liv. das Plantas*.

¹ Bassein (*Wasāi*, in Port. Baçaim), twenty-six miles north of Bombay. The city was ceded to the Portuguese in 1536, in the government of Nuno da Cunha. It became the favourite resort of the wealthier Portuguese, the place being noted for handsome villas and pretty gardens. As a city of fashion it was called *a corte do Norte*. It had a splendid cathedral, thirteen churches, five convents, and a Misericórdia. Bassein was taken by the Mahrattas in 1739, after a siege of three months, in which the Portuguese, for the last time in India, fought with stubborn courage. Forty-one years later (1780) the town was captured by the British. In 1782 it was restored to the Mahrattas, and in 1818 retaken on the overthrow of the Peshwás. Bassein is now a sub-division of Tanná district. The population, which even in the decadence of the place before the siege exceeded 60,000, has now dwindled to about one-tenth of that number. A full account of the history and antiquities of Bassein will be found in Mr. J. G. da Cunha's *Chaul and Bassein*, Bombay, 1876.

² Chaul is famous for many Portuguese exploits. Here Dom Lourenço, the chivalrous son of the Viceroy D. Francisco d'Almeida, lost his life in a naval engagement in 1508. After some severe fighting, the previous factory was in 1516 converted into a fort. Other attempts to dislodge the Portuguese failed, and in 1570-1 the fortress sustained a long siege, simultaneously with that of Goa. The Portuguese were not, however, secure so long as the *Morro*, or hill of Korlé, on the opposite side of the estuary, remained in possession of the enemy, and this position was captured, after an obstinate resistance, in 1594. Both fortresses were surrendered to the Mahrattas in 1741, after their capture of Bassein, and in 1818 fell into the hands of the British. Chaul is now an insignificant village, though many of its fine old buildings remain to testify its former greatness. For a full account of the place, see Mr. da Cunha's *Chaul and Bassein*.

productive of all kinds of valuable merchandise, which the merchants from all parts of India and the East come to seek. But the chiefest are the silks, which are obtained there in such quantity that alone they almost supply Goa and all India. They are of a different quality from those of China ; and at Goa no account is made of any but Chaul silk, whereof very pretty stuffs are made ; it also largely supplies choice cotton fabrics.

At Chaul are two towns ; one belongs to the Portuguese, and is very strong. In former days they had a great war with the king of the country, but now they are at peace together. The other belongs to the natives, where is carried on a great manufactory of silk, as also of a vast number of coffers, boxes, cases, and cabinets in the China style, all very rich and elaborate. They make also couches and bedsteads, lacquered in all colours ; in this work the people are very adroit and industrious. The king is a Mahometan, very puissant and much feared : they call him the *Malic* of Chaul. He is a vassal of the Grand Mogor, like the rest. All this coast is very rich and the climate healthy, and it has very good ports ; living is very cheap, and most of the inhabitants are Gentiles and idolaters. The king has a great number of elephants, and when he takes his meals he causes to come about him a number of beautiful women, who sing and play instruments of music ; others take a piece of coloured taffetas, and tear it into pieces so small that they are good for nothing, were it not that those present pick them up each a shred as a kind of badge. After these amusements the king dismisses everyone, and betakes himself to the contemplation of the vanity and uncertainty of life, to such effect that incontinently he falls asleep.

All the kings of India near the Mogor, who cannot resist him, disdain not to be his vassals ; indeed, they are considered all the stronger in consequence, and are the more honoured among their neighbours.

Beyond Chaul, and toward Goa, is another fine town and port called *Dabul*, where the Portuguese have only a factor or agent: it sends many commodities to Goa.

Between Goa and Comorin, that is to say along the Malabar coast, are many fortresses, such as *Onor*, at the 14th degree toward the north; *Barcelor* at the 13th; *Mangalor* at the 12th; *Cananor* at the 11th; *Cranganor* at the 10th; and *Cochin* at the 8th; then comes *Coulán* at the 7th. All these places¹ are in the service of the Portuguese, who have fortresses there, and all that coast supplies Goa with pepper and spice. *Cochin* and *Calecut* I have amply described above. At the time of my departure from Goa, on my return home, the fortress of *Coulán* was besieged on the land side by the king of the country, whereupon the Portuguese were equipping an army of succour; but I know not what ensued.

Before finishing this chapter, I have to tell of that great ship of one of the kings of this coast, to wit, of *Tananor*, that came laden with rice to the Maldives while I was there; which occurrence I have already described.² This vessel went on to *Achen* to traffic there, and picked up a friendship with the *Hollanders*, who having aforetime cast anchor at *Tananor*, had some acquaintance with this king. It was agreed between the captain and chief men of this ship and the *Hollanders* that the latter should be permitted to trade freely at *Tananor*, and should send two factors and some merchandise, and a present for the king, in his vessel. This was ratified; the two *Hollanders* embarked in this vessel with much merchandise, and the present was well received

¹ *Onor* (*Honāvar*), *Barcelor* (*Basrūr*), and *Mangalūr* are (or were) ports of Canara. *Cannanore*, *Cranganor* (*Kodungalūr*), *Cochin*, and *Quilon* are Malabar ports. All are very ancient seats of commerce, and described by the early travellers on this coast, whose works are already cited in these volumes. See also authorities quoted as to each in Colonel Yule's *Glossary*. Plans of the Portuguese fortresses are given by Resende (Sloane MS. No. 197).

² See vol. i, p. 266.

by the king. He was, nevertheless, highly disgraced in the eyes of all the other kings and the lords and merchants of India; for it is held for truth that he sent and gave word at Cochin that the two Hollanders were with him, and that if the Portuguese would send to fetch them he would deliver them up—as, indeed, most vilely and treacherously he did. But to give some colour to his treachery, and to the end that this thing should not be deemed to have come from him, and so he should lose his reputation among the other Nair kings, of whom he was one, as well as for fear of falling into a war with the Hollanders and their allies, he bade those at Cochin (which is twenty leagues off, Tananor being between Calecut and Cochin) come in strength, that so he might say he had been constrained to this thing by force. In short, these Hollanders were given up, they and their merchandise, and conveyed to Cochin, where, as I heard, they were afterwards hanged. The King of Calecut has been ever evilly-disposed toward this king, seeing he takes the side of the King of Cochin. When the Hollanders pass by there, all they can do is to fire much cannon-shot over this king's land, for they have never been able to take their revenge otherwise.

This is all I have been able to learn of these divers countries of the coasts of Africa and India while I was with the Portuguese. They have a very particular knowledge of all, seeing they are in possession of some of them, and drive a regular trade with all those others which are not under their dominion and power.

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CHAPTER XX.

Many captures of Portuguese ships, and other occurrences in the Indies during the sojourn of the author at Goa.

Having returned to Goa after my voyage to Malacca and Sunda, I remained there another space of six months to pass the winter. But, before I come to my embarking for Portugal, I must tell of some remarkable occurrences that happened in the Indies while I was there. First I will refer to an engagement between the Hollanders on their way to the Indies and a large and powerful Portuguese vessel on her way from Ormus to Goa. It was a great calm at the time, which was the cause that the Hollanders could not at once board the vessel, which they looked upon as their own the moment any wind should get up. At nightfall, however, the Portuguese let down two boats and made their escape, carrying with them all that was most precious in the ship, such as gold, silver coined in larins, Oriental pearls in large numbers, and other riches; so that when the Hollanders were about to make their attack they found no resistance, for all had escaped except one old merchant. To him the crew would not give time to embark his goods, so he said that he recked not of death since he was losing all his wealth, and preferred to await the arrival of the Hollanders. The latter, enraged to find themselves baulked of so fair a prize, pillaged what remained, and set fire to the ship, which contained a good number of Persian and Ormus horses. She was also laden with sweetmeats, to wit, conserves, dates, and raisins, called by them *Passes*,¹ which are like our Damascus raisins. The most excellent quince preserves come from Persia and Ormus; these the Portuguese call *Marmelades*,² and we *Cotignats*. The loss of this vessel was a vast misfortune for them; nor did it come alone, for the Hollanders burned

¹ See above, p. 73.

² See above, p. 240.

many others afterwards. That vessel belonged to the above-mentioned lord, named *Don Diego de Coustigno*, who resided at Goa.

Another time a great ship of Cochin, belonging to the Portuguese, and laden with merchandise of Bengala, whence she hailed, was met by some *pados*, or galiots of Malabar corsairs, who wanted to attack her, but, seeing they were not strong enough to take her, they, against the grain, left her there. But as their good luck, and the Portuguese ill luck would have it, whilst they sped off they met a Holland ship, which they hailed, giving word of that Portugal vessel, and offering to show the Hollander captain where she lay, as well as to aid in taking her. To this the Hollander agreed, and the Portuguese surrendered at the first shot. The Malabars would have slain the crew to a man, but the Hollanders prevented them. The Malabars first made a preliminary sack of the ship, taking all the stuffs and light goods on the upper and main decks only; which done, they said they laid no claim to more. But the Hollanders told them that they intended them to have a third of the whole, and this division was carried out, though the Hollanders retained the ship, which they gave as a present to the King of Cananor. They did ill, however, in leaving seven poor Christian prisoners in the hands of the Malabars, the captain giving them over that the Malabars might profit by their ransom, and promising them that they should be ransomed. But the Malabars, notwithstanding this promise, slew one of them, and the captain of the vessel was himself one of the seven. This was the vessel of which I have spoken that came to the Maldives while we were wrecked there.¹ These Malabars

¹ See vol. i, pp. 78, 239. It is difficult to identify this story in the Dutch journals. After all, it is only gossip which the traveller picked up in India long after the events. It is probably a combination of two occurrences: (1) the capture of a Portuguese frigate by Steven van der Hagen, off Cannanor, in October 1604; and (2) the dealing with the

cruelly entreated those men. Afterwards, too, arose a great dispute between two of the chief Malabars because the Hollanders gave two pieces of cannon from this ship to one named Marcaire, whom also I have mentioned above, and who held himself out for the chiefest man among these robbers. But the captain of the galleys said that as the galleys engaged were his, so the prize belonged to him, seeing his ships had borne the hazard of the enterprise. So this quarrel waxed hot between them, and the King of Calecut was every day expected during his journeying in his territory to bring them to an understanding. These two lords were always well escorted when they went abroad from their houses; they resided only four leagues apart, with a single town between them.

Then, about a year before we left Goa, arrived an English ship¹ in the river of Surate and Cambaye, whither she came with a view to trade. A gentleman of her company landed there, and went as ambassador on behalf of the King of England to the Grand Mogor, by whom, as I heard afterwards, he was exceeding well received. And forasmuch as great ships cannot approach close to the towns and territory of Cambaye and Surate, where these Englishmen came to trade in Anil or Indigo for the manufacture of their violet scarlet, they unfortunately sent ashore two of their boats, laden with merchandise, and manned by seventeen hands: these were cut off by a number of Portuguese galiots that stole up between the land and the ship, out of reach of cannon-

Bom Jesus, taken by Verhoeven's fleet at Mozambique. The Dutch chronicler does not say that in the former any assistance was given by the Malabars, nor that the captured ship was given over to the Raja of Cannanor. The two guns alluded to below were from the *Bom Jesus*. (See *Second Voyage of S. van der Hagen*, and *Voy. of Verhæven*.)

¹ The *Hector*. The English Ambassador referred to was William Hawkins. For an account of the capture of the two English boats, see *Hawkins' Voyages*, p. 392 *et seq.* The *Hector* arrived at Surat 24th Aug. 1608.

shot. They were thus captured and taken off to Goa by a certain *Don Fernando de Sylva de Menessez*, who was general of the ordinary galiots of the North. This general embarked in the same ship in which I had my passage to Portugal, and paid me great attention, as I shall relate hereafter. These seventeen Englishmen were taken prisoners, and were full soon reduced to six or seven, for the rest died. As for their ship, she forthwith weighed anchor and sailed off for Achen. There were, in fact, two English ships¹ that went off together; the one took her course to Achen, and the other to Cambaye.

Six months, too, before I embarked, there came another English vessel² to traffic in the East Indies. While she was on the coast of Melinde, and near *Bombase*, the captain sent her boat to the *Zanzibar* islands to sound and reconnoitre the coast; but it was surprised by the natives, and the Portuguese, who made a pretence of going a-fishing there, slew nine or ten of the boat's crew. I saw one of the survivors brought a prisoner to Goa, named Seigneur Richard,³ a man of proud and noble bearing, like a captain. He was

¹ The *Hector*, Captain Hawkins, and the *Dragon*, Captain Keeling, the latter being admiral. Abstracts of *Keeling's Journal* are given by Purchas (iii, ch. vii, p. 206), and in the *Lancaster Voyages* (Hak. Soc.), p. 108. Concerning the *Dragon* an interesting fact may be repeated here (see *Lanc. Voy.*, Introd., p. ix), viz., that when off the Guinea coast, in Sept. 1607, her men performed the "Tragedie of *Hamlett*".

² The *Union*, Captain Rowles, sailed from England with the *Ascension*, Captain Sharpeigh, in 1608 (see fur her, vol. i, p. 45). The event at Zanzibar took place early in 1609, and the prisoners would be brought to Goa about May or June, i.e., about six months before Pyrrard's departure from India.

³ Richard Wickham; he had been the merchant of the *Union*. The account of his capture by the Portuguese is given above (i, 45, note), from the letter of S. Bradshaw, in Purchas (i, p. 232). With four other English captives, he sailed from Goa to Lisbon, in the same carrack with Sir Robert Sherley, arriving there in Aug. 1610. He was much patronised by Sherley, and at first stayed in his house at Lisbon, but soon afterwards made his escape to England. Subsequently he proceeded to Firando, in Japan, as a factor for the Company, and is frequently referred to in Cocks's *Diary*. After vexing the soul of Richard Cocks

long in prison, in company with us, and it was intended to put him on his trial for having been taken in the act of sounding. He said they had slain his cousin in cold blood, as I have already related, and had raised his head on a pike for a trophy. His misfortune was to have been taken with the lead in his hand, that being a dangerous implement on a Portuguese coast. At length he embarked for Portugal in one of the carracks that started when I did.

Four months later the same English ship,¹ on her voyage from Surate to Achen, and while 60 leagues off the coast abreast of Chaul, a territory of the Grand Mogor, who is friendly to the English, ran into some banks and shoals, and was lost; but her crew, to the number of about eighty, had time to lower her two boats, and embark on these with all their money and the better part of their other goods. They reached Chaul, in the realm of the Grand Mogor, and took their journey by land to Surate and Cambaye, where they were exceeding well received because of the money they spent, and then took resolution to go to the court of the Mogor, thence to return home overland by way of Tartary. This they did, and got passports from the king, who likewise gave them money, horses, arms, buffaloes, and oxen to carry them and their baggage and provisions, and so furnished they set out. Some fifteen of them would not be of this party, and tarried there awaiting the grace of God at some other season. There were then at the Mogor's court some Jesuit Fathers, one of whom made friends with these Englishmen,

in many ways, and striking for higher pay, he threw up his position and left Japan, in 1618, worth £5,000 or £6,000.

¹ Not the *Union*, but her sister ship, the *Ascension*. The loss of this ship, and the adventures of some of the survivors, are related by T. Jones, in Purchas (ii, 228). This man and three others were deluded by a Jesuit at Surat, to put themselves in his hands. They were taken to Daman and Chaul, and thence to Goa, where they arrived 18th Nov. 1609. They were sent to Lisbon in the *N. S. de Piedade* (v. i., ch. xxi), arriving there Aug. 1610. Jones does not mention Pyrard in his story, though, as appears below, they made friends at Goa.

who were Protestants. This was about the time when the great fleet called *Cafile* was coming from Surate and Cambaye to Goa. These English had plenty of money, and this Jesuit Father made four of the chiefest of them with all assurance believe they could go to Goa and live there without any harm. This they did, believing in his word, and came to Goa, where at first they were well enough received, having a lodging given to them among the servants, and being well treated. I saw them many a time, for we were very good friends. But, after they had been there some time, they were as badly treated as the rest of us, as I shall relate in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XXI.

The author's taking ship at Goa.—Condition of the Indies at that time.—The author's imprisonment and deliverance.—Arrival of carracks, and other matters on this head.

Having thus passed the winter at Goa, after my return from Sunda, when the season came round again my two companions and I resolved to be off and to take ship home.

The state of Goa was then as follows.

The viceroy was none other than the archbishop, whom *Don Martin Alphonse de Castro*, who died at Malacca, as already related, had left as governor in his absence, and he held that office for three years. One appointed by the viceroys or by election¹ is called only *Governador de la India*,

¹ A double mistake : viceroys did not nominate their successors, nor was there any election of governors. On both the occasions alluded to, when Archbishop Menezes and A. Furtado respectively became governors, recourse was had to the *vias de successão* (*Arch. Port. Or.*, Fasc. 1, No. 15, para 5, and Rivara's *Pyrard*).



DOM ANDRE FURTADO DE MENDOÇA

37th Governor of India 1609.

(From the *LIVRO DO ESTADO DA INDIA* of P. Barretto de Resende.

Sloane Collection No. 197.)

that is, Governor of India, and such was he; nevertheless, he was absolute in the absence of the other, and governed with great wisdom. But the enemies of the Portuguese, to wit, the Malabars, Hollanders, etc., glad to find they had to deal only with a man of the Church, took more courage, and daily made raids and prizes even at the very bars and roadsteads of the Portuguese ports. This archbishop, named *Don Alexis de Mexiosa*,¹ would not have been in power so long, but that a viceroy was expected full soon from Portugal; and, indeed, the King of Spain, on hearing the news of the viceroy's death, had sent one out, by name the Count *de la Fera*, who, as I have elsewhere recorded, died on the Guinea coast. Thereupon an assembly was called at Goa of all the nobility, the clergy, and the third estate, to take counsel what should be done, seeing that affairs were then in so sorry a condition.² It was then resolved that the archbishop should quit his office, and that *Don André Furtado de Mendoza*,³ the greatest and most renowned captain then amongst

¹ *Sic*, for *Menezes*.

² The assembly met, not for an election, but merely to open the *vias*, which were brought in the same ship in which Mocquet (see below) reached Goa.

³ F. y Sousa, who always has Tacitus in his mind, thus writes of Furtado: "Most men appear fit for public employments before they have them, and afterwards wholly incapable of them. It was not so with A. Furtado, for everybody esteemed him fitter to govern after he was placed in that power than they had done before, and yet there was none before but wished to see him in that post." This great captain had begun his military service at the age of 16, when he accompanied King Sebastian in his ill-fated expedition to Morocco. A year or two later he embarked for India, and already in 1582 made his name by his relief of Barcelor. From 1590 until his succession to the governorship in 1609 he was employed in every enterprise of moment, and on every occasion justified the confidence of his countrymen. He fought the Malabar pirates in several pitched battles by sea, defeated and slew the King of Jaffna, and raised the siege of Colombo. In 1600 he restored the Portuguese reputation by his capture of Kunhali's fort (*supra*, vol. i, pp. 354-6), where F. da Gama had suffered so severe a reverse. He was then appointed Captain of Malacca, and, after various encounters with the

them, should be elected. He had been thirty years in India, and never wished for the government, but only to be captain and general of the army ; he was very liberal to his soldiers. He was accordingly elected, and was received with the same ceremony as in the case of those that come from Portugal. Without loss of time he commenced to reform the state, and by new ordinances to put the administration on a good footing. All the Indian kings that were allied with the Portuguese rejoiced that he had the office, and sent their ambassadors with presents to greet him. He raised great armies and fortified many places ; in short, this lord was beloved of God, of the king and the people, as well as of the captains and soldiers, but not of the nobility, for he was neither robber nor ambitious, nor would he see others rob the king. He was not married, and withal was continent and devout. In less than three months he equipped armadas to despatch in all directions, and did more in that time than the others in the course of years.

This viceroy, or governor, had a nephew named *Don Diego Furtado de Mendoza*, that was appointed general of an armada then preparing for the North. He was one of the four lords already mentioned who supplied the soldiers with food during this winter : for it is then the work is afoot of pre-

Dutch, sustained, with a very inferior garrison, a siege of four months against their forces under Matelief (*supra*, p. 151). His appointment to the governorship of India seems to have aroused enthusiasm, and by his personal influence he seems to have got men to work, instead of defrauding their royal master. In two months' time he had a great fleet equipped and manned. At the end of his third month arrived De Tavora to reap the benefit of his labours. Furtado's portrait, as copied by Resende from the gallery in the Viceroy's palace, shows us a man grave and keen, modest and determined, of whom Faria probably speaks truly when he says that, on his elevation, he was "courteous to his inferiors, and lifted himself not above those who had been his equals. As a private captain he dressed costily, now as governor plainer than a private captain. The workshops were his rooms of state, the arsenal his garden." (Stevens' *Faria*, iii, 162.

paring the armada to sail at the beginning of summer.¹ During this winter at Goa my companions and I used to go, like the Portuguese, and eat at the house of this lord, who bade us come, and had our names put upon his rolls, for he was resolved to take us with him upon his expedition, and I, like the rest, had given him my promise. But the viceroy was minded to make us all prisoners, together with some Englishmen that were at Goa, viz., the survivors of the seventeen taken at the bar of Surate,² and the other four brought by the Jesuits from the court of the Grand Mogor,³ with the other Englishman called the Seigneur *Richard*,⁴ also some Hollanders or Flemings that were there: so were we all thrown into prison together. The pretext was that we were there to spy them out and report upon all we saw, and that the season was at hand when the Hollanders were wont to cast anchor at the bar of Goa. Thus did they to all the other foreigners, saving such as had come to the Indies in Portuguese ships, so that the Jesuit Fathers had again to exert themselves for our deliverance. Four or five of them assembled, including the Christians' Father,⁵ by name *Père Gaspar Aleman*,⁶ a Castilian; an English Father, named *Thomas Estienne*,⁷ rector of a college in the Salsete territory,

¹ The commencement of the fine weather following the close of the S.W. monsoon, i.e., about the end of August.

² *V. s.*, p. 263.

³ *V. s.*, p. 266.

⁴ *V. s.*, p. 264.

⁵ One of the Jesuits was appointed to look after the converted natives and foreigners in distress, with the title of *pai dos Christãos*.

⁶ Fathers Gaspar Aleman and De la Croix had been most instrumental in obtaining Pyrrard's release from prison in the previous year (see above, p. 22, where, after the words "Jesuit Father", read "by name Gaspar Aleman," the latter words being omitted by an oversight.

⁷ Father Thomas Stevens, of all Englishmen *primus in Indis*. The Jesuit authorities say that he was from *Buston*, in the diocese of Salisbury, a place which may be identified as Boscombe, a village a few miles N.E. of Salisbury. Hakluyt says he was "sometime of New College in Oxford", but his name cannot be found in the books there. One of his name is entered of St. John's College, in 1577, but by this time our Stevens had joined the Jesuits. At an early age he fell

called *Margon*; the Fathers *Jan de Cenes*,¹ a Lorrainer of Verdun; *Nicolas Trigaut*,¹ a Walloon of Douay; and the good

in with Thomas Pounce, and was by him sent to Rome, where, on Oct. 20, 1575, Stevens was enrolled as a novice at S. Andrea. The persecutions of the Catholics by Elizabeth necessitated a life of deception, if not conspiracy, and this was not to Stevens' liking. While at Rome he probably read the life and work of Francis Xavier, and in a petition to the Father-General he besought the favour of being sent to the East Indies (Foley's *Records of the Eng. Jesuits*, vol. iii).

His wish was fulfilled, and he sailed from Lisbon in 1578. On arrival at Goa he wrote to his father a long and interesting account of his voyage, which is preserved to us in *Hakluyt*. Well for our countrymen was it that the first Englishman to set foot in India was a man of Stevens' calibre, who united learning, warmth of heart, and diplomacy, and who, in his attachment to his Church and order, never forgot that he was an Englishman. During his long residence at Goa he was on occasions able to use his influence on behalf of Englishmen. Fitch and Newbery, and their friends, in 1584, owed their liberation to his intercession. "The two good fathers of S. Paul", says Newbery, "who travelled very much for us, the one is called Father Marke, who was borne in Bruges, in Flanders, and the other was borne in Wilshire, in England, and is called Padre Thomas Stevens. James Storie went into the monasterie of St. Paul, where he remaineth, and is made one of the companie, which life he liketh very well" (*Hak.*, i, 211).

Stevens went out to India at the age of twenty-six, and laboured there for forty years, during thirty-five of which he was rector of the college at Salsette. In 1619 he died at Goa. He was the first to make a scientific study of Canarese: "Primus Canarinum idioma in regulas ordinemque digessit," says Ribadaneira. Three of his works survive, all printed after his death: (1) the *Arte da lingua Canarim*, em Rachol, 1640; one example of it is in the National Library at Lisbon, and perhaps another is at Goa, as the book was reprinted there 1857, 8vo.; (2) *Doutrina Christã em lingua bramana-canarim*, em Rachol, 1622, 8vo.; (3) *Discurso sobre a vinda de Jesus Christo*, etc., Goa, 1626, 1649, and 1654.

Much more might be written of Stevens. The fullest account of his early life is in Foley; bibliographical and other notices, however, appear in all the Jesuit authorities, Ribadaneira, Backer, Southwell, Parsons, More, and Oliver. See also articles by Mr. Rivara in the Lisbon *Archivo Universal*, vol. iv, No. 13 (Jan. 1861); by Professor Monier Williams in the *Contemp. Rev.*, April 1878; and by F. M. Mascarenhas in the *Ind. Antiquary*, vol. vii, p. 117.

¹ See above, p. 36, where "Jean de Seine" is described as a Lorrainer from Nancy.

Father *Estienne de la Croix*,¹ a Frenchman of Rouen, who all worked together with such effect that we were set free after an imprisonment of nigh three weeks. The English also got out by the means of that good Father Thomas Estienne, who took much pains therein. Four of them became Catholics at Goa; but of these two died there. And in truth those good Fathers heartily wished us all in our own countries because of the trouble we were raising, and they assisted us in all things as though we were their own brothers. But what chiefly consoled us, and vexed and annoyed all the people of Goa, was that at the end of three months after this viceroy had been instituted there arrived from Portugal a new viceroy named *Don Loys Lorencio d'Establa*,² who found in readiness all that his predecessor had been at such pains to prepare, and himself took all the honour and profit, giving the appointments to men of his own choosing. He had set out from Portugal with an extraordinary fleet of carracks, and spent a long winter at Mozambic, waiting for the wind. The Government of India had sent petitions to the King of Spain that he should grant the title of viceroy to *Don André Furtado*, which he would willingly have bestowed, but that the other had left Portugal ere the news from Goa arrived in Spain.³

¹ See above, p. 36.

² Ruy Lourenço de Tavora assumed the government as 19th (or, according to Faria, 21st) viceroy on the 5th Sept. 1609, and held office till Dec. 1612, when he was succeeded by Jeronimo de Azevedo (as to whom see above, p. 143). De Tavora's period was uneventful; Faria sums him up thus: "He had more inclination to peace than war, which produced concord with all the kings of India; of stature tall, his complexion fair, aged, and a good Christian, a rare thing among men of quality."

³ That is, the news that Furtado had succeeded to and assumed the government. The King of Spain might, and probably did, put the names of the best men in the *vias* or sealed orders, but (his mails arriving never less than six months after date) he never knew which of them would be alive and in India at the time a vacancy should occur.

Two months after the coming of this viceroy four great carracks arrived at Goa, each of 2,000 tons burthen or thereabouts; the general, or captain *Mayor*, was *Don Manuel de Menaica*. Five had left Lisbon, but they had lost sight of the fifth in a storm at the Cape of Good Hope. Each carrack had had on board upwards of a thousand men, including soldiers and sailors, Jesuits and other clergy, merchants and gentlemen; and when they arrived at Goa they had but 300 aboard each, and half these were sick by reason of the great calms, the great fatigue, and the want of fresh water they endured at sea, for they were eight months without touching land.¹ They brought an edict from the King of Spain, forbidding the viceroy to permit any French, Hollanders, or Englishmen to be amongst them, and commanding him to compel any that might be there, under pain of death, to take ship and be off, forasmuch as they only went there to become acquainted with India, and to spy out the land.

Wherefore, as it was not permitted to any but Portuguese to embark without permission, we besought these good Jesuit Fathers to get us the viceroy's licence to return to Europe, and to get us provisions. The which we easily obtained, because the viceroy had the express commands of the King of Spain to that effect. But we required to have it in writing and signed by his hand. This, however, was by no means easy to get, less so, indeed, than food. All the while, too, the captains at Goa wanted to take me with them, some to China and Japan, others to Mozambic and Sofala; but these good Fathers counselled us to return home and get quit of these fellows, who in the end would do us an ill turn.

¹ The English letter from Lisbon, dated March $\frac{1}{8}$, 1609 (cited above, p. 119), affords a truer reason for the terrible mortality in the voyage of this fleet. The greater part of each crew of 1,500 were boys from the age of ten and upwards, who were totally unfit for the perils of an Indian voyage.

So at length we three Frenchmen were taken before the viceroy, who was greatly astonished to hear who we were, seeing that no French ship had hitherto come to the East Indies; but seeing the plight we were in, and the long time we had spent there, he promised to give us leave to go, and victuals for the coming voyage.

For four months the carracks were being refitted, during which time an armada of galiots was sent to convoy ten ships to Cananor, Bacalor, Barcelor, and Onor, on the Malabar coast to the south of Goa, in order to bring pepper for a cargo to the carracks.

This was because the King of Cochin would not give his pepper unless the Portuguese sent the carracks themselves for it. Be it noted here that only the King of Spain can buy and possess pepper: the merchants cannot buy even a pound of it, nor export a grain of it, while in all the other Indian merchandise they can traffic freely. Wherefore the king reserves in each of these ships room for 500 casks of pepper: the rest is left for the goods of the merchants and mariners, who pay no other freight, but thirty per cent. at Lisbon.

When these ten ships returned to Goa with the pepper the carracks were laden and fitted for the home voyage. *Don André Furtado de Mendoza*, who had three months before yielded up the office of viceroy, was appointed general and commander-in-chief for the voyage to Portugal.

We then got our licence from the viceroy; but he gave us no provisions, as he had promised, saving only that he put in our passport an order to the ship's officers to let us embark with our clothes and *matelotage*, which is the food that every one takes with him, and to give us the regular commons of biscuit and water, as they give to the sailors. For, as I said before, their king supplies all commodities on the outward journey, but on the homeward none except to the ship's officers, and then only biscuit for the whole

voyage (though, in fact, it doesn't last three months), and nothing else. This is done of design, and for fear lest, if he should supply provisions for the homeward as for the outward voyage, most of those would return who are now constrained to remain in India.

Thus, while the vessels were being laden, every one got ready his *matelotage*; but it must be noted that when a viceroy, archbishop, or other great lord goes from Goa to Portugal all the poor soldiers and such others are exceedingly glad, for these grandees then promise to provide victuals for a certain number of men, a hundred or so. The Archbishop of Goa also was intending to embark in one of these carracks, but he changed his mind afterwards, and remained at Goa for that year. He had promised us our provisions on the voyage; but when it was known that *Don André Furtado* was to go, every one went to him to get his name upon his roll, for he had made provision for well-nigh 200 persons, including his own domestics.¹ The Jesuit fathers and we ourselves did all we could to get enrolled in that list, but it was impossible, because of the great number of Portuguese who were going with him; and also because the Jesuit fathers, who had brought these four Englishmen from the Mogor, had engaged places for them, and even they got their passage with great trouble.

With him also embarked a Frenchman named *Jean Moquet*,²

¹ The *Arch. Port. Or.* (Fasc. 6, No. 104) contains the order of the viceroy to the king's factor, dated 22nd Dec. 1609, to pay to the captain of Furtado's ship the sum of 3,500 xeraphins (about £250) for the hospitalities of the ex-governor on the homeward voyage.

² Jean Mocquet, born near Vienna, 1575. His family had been adherents of Henri IV in his adversity, and young Mocquet became the king's apothecary. Having a great desire to travel, he obtained permission, on condition that he collected curiosities for the king's cabinet at the Tuileries, of which he was appointed custodian. He started in 1601, and in the space of twelve years had made no less than five long and hazardous voyages: (1) West Coast of Africa; (2) Guiana; (3)

who had come to Goa from Lisbon with a viceroy, by name Count *de la Fera*, that died by the way, as already described. I saw him often at Goa; he had as much reason to praise the Portuguese as we had, for he had his share of good treatment, as you may read more particularly in the book of his voyages to India.¹ He embarked at Lisbon in the household of this viceroy, in the capacity of an arborist and apothecary, as he did again on his return with *Don André Furtado*, who gave him the place. While he was at Goa he was some time apothecary to the Royal Hospital; then he returned, as I have said, with *Don André Furtado*, who is rumoured to have been poisoned.² He was ailing a long time; and in India they give slow poisons, to act after such interval as they desire. Thus did we strive to get aboard his ship, but we could not, for the reasons stated,

Morocco; (4) Goa; (5) Holy Land. When he was at Paris, in the intervals of his voyages, Henri IV took much pleasure in hearing the traveller's gossip. In 1614 he was minded to make a tour of the world, and went to Spain, but there was refused leave to proceed to America. He then returned to Paris and published the entertaining volume of the voyages above mentioned. His account of the voyage to India is a terrible picture of misery, though his medical knowledge enabled him to battle with the scurvy, with which he, as well as nearly all on board, was stricken. As stated above, he was apothecary to the Conde de Feira on the voyage out, and to A. Furtado on the voyage home, and it was his melancholy duty to embalm the bodies of both. Mocquet, after acknowledging the kindness shown to him by his countryman, Father de la Croix, adds: "J'en vy aussi trois autres qui s'etoient saueez des Maldives, entre lesquels estoit un nommé François Pirard, Breton, qui a fait l'Histoire de ses Voyages."

¹ The *Voyages en Afrique, Asie, Indes Orientales et Occidentales, etc.*, was first published at Paris, 1617, 1 vol. in-12; other issues were at Rouen, 1645 and 1665, and again at Paris, 1830. It has been translated into Dutch (Dordrecht, 1656, 4to), into German (Lüneburg, 1668, 4to), and into English (London, 1696, 8vo).

² This is mere gossip. He died of jaundice (*F. y Sousa*). Before he left Goa he was seriously ill of liver and spleen disease, for which he was treated by Mocquet. After thirty arduous years in India his condition was by no means abnormal.

and also because our passport bore the name of another vessel. And well was it for us, although, in sooth, we endured in that voyage every possible hardship and suffering; for we were distributed four in each vessel, and French, English, and Hollanders mixed. These poor Englishmen were fairly astonished when, as soon as they got on board, they got irons clapped on their feet, which was no more than we had at Goa. In fact, all the foreigners that were shipped in the three carracks which left before us were all made prisoners on arrival at Lisbon, as I heard afterwards. We, however, were more fortunate, notwithstanding all the ills we suffered; but of that anon.

The carrack upon which Don André embarked was called *Nossa Senora de Peigna de Francia*, that is to say, Our Lady of the Coast of France, to whose name there is a church at Lisbon. She was the first laden and equipped, and set sail the 26th December 1609. At his departure all Goa cried for sorrow, because he had been thirty years in India, having gone out full young and been successful in his wars. He was so beloved by the clergy, the nobility, and the common people, and even by the Indian kings, that every one said he had never seen any viceroy or general that was so great a captain, so valiant, so pure, and so beloved as was this Seigneur Furtado. When he went aboard to set sail it was one of the prettiest sights in the world, for all the town went to escort him and see him depart as far as the bar, with their covered *manchoues*, like galiots, full of bands of music, gifts of fruits, and other presents. And though the people thus displayed great joy and gaiety, yet were they indeed sore at heart, and grieved to see this lord depart.

Such was his character; and the King of Spain, being desirous to see and know him, had sent for him to come.¹ At his departure he promised the people of Goa that he

¹ Probably gossip: the regulations required that no ex-governor should remain in India.

would return after seeing the king ; but he did not survive the voyage, for he died at sea near the *Açores*, as I heard in Spain after my return.¹ Inasmuch as the four carracks did not set out together and at the same time, not being all ready and laden, it was arranged that they should tarry at the island of St. Helena for the space of twenty days, and after that a letter should be left in the chapel giving news of their voyage and departure.

The second carrack, called *Nostre Dame des Carmes*,² set sail the 8th January 1610: in her was embarked *Don Manuel de Menaça*, who was general of the five carracks when they left Portugal. But when they return with the viceroy he is general of the fleet, as was *Don André Furtado* now.

The third carrack, called *Nostre Dame de Piedade*, set sail the 15th of the same month, and she had for her captain *Don Pedro de Coutigno*, who had just quitted the government of Ormus, and had also on board the Persian ambassador,³ who came on behalf of his master to induce the King of Spain to make war against the Turk: he was bringing rich presents.⁴ Of the fourth carrack, whereon I was embarked, I shall speak in the following chapter.

Before, however, closing this, I will tell how, when we

¹ He was buried in the church of Our Lady of Grace at Lisbon. His funeral sermon, by Fr. Antonio de Gouveia (author of the *Jornada* of Archbishop Menezes), is published under the title *Sermão nas exequias de A. Furtado de Mendonça Governador que foi da India*. Lisboa, por Vicente Alvares, 1611, 4to. (Da Silva, *Dicc. Bibliogr. Port.*).

² Her full name was N. S. do Vencimento do Monte do Carme.

³ This ambassador was sent by the King of Persia for the above purposes, and also to counteract and check the diplomacy of Sir Robert Sherley, who had proceeded to Lisbon and Spain the year before. The *N. S. de Piedade* arrived at Lisbon in August 1610, and the conduct of the rivals at the Court of Spain is described in English letters from Lisbon (*Cal. St. Pap. E. I.*, i, 487, etc.).

⁴ He is said to have brought 250,000 ducats' worth of silk and jewels (*op. cit.*, i, 487).

were ready to start, there arrived at Goa one of these Englishmen, who, as I said before, took the land route to England from the court of the Grand Mogor. He told us that in all the countries of that prince, which are of vast extent, they had experienced no harm or discomfort, by reason of the passport they had of him, and that they had brokers day by day for payment. But when they got further into Grand Tartary they could pass no farther, for they were set upon and undone in such wise that but a third part of their company escaped, and these were forced to return to the place whence they came; and as for the rest, whether they were dead or in prison, they knew not.

I must not forget to mention that whilst I was at Goa I had the acquaintance and friendship of a Portuguese gentleman, a soldier, by name *Don Francisco de Caldera*. He spoke very good French, having resided at the court of France for the space of ten or twelve years, and having also been in the service of *Don Antonio*,¹ King of Portugal, who died at Paris. This gentleman was for more than a year and a half in prison at Goa, or rather in sanctuary in a church in Goa, where he took refuge after slaying a man in a quarrel; for there, as in Spain, a church is an asylum and a franchise for such as have slain a man, provided it be not by assassination or ambuscade, but in battle defending with his own body. I sometimes went to see and speak with him at the door of the church and of the parsonage, for he could not go abroad for fear of being seized by the officers of justice. He told me, among other things, that he had

¹ Don Antonio, natural son of Louis, Prince of Portugal. He had accompanied King Sebastian to Morocco in 1578, and was made prisoner at the fatal battle of Alcaçar-Quivir. He managed to escape, and was proclaimed King of Portugal, but was completely overthrown by the Duke of Alva at the battle of Alcantara, which secured the Portuguese throne for Philip II. Don Antonio took refuge in exile, and, after many endeavours to raise combinations against the Spanish domination, at length died at Paris in 1595.

seen at Goa a French gentleman, who called himself the *Comte de Monfar*, otherwise the *Sieur de Feines*,¹ who had come from Venice by sea to Alexandretta, thence by land to Aleppo, thence with the caravan to Babylon, then to Persia to the king's court at Spahan, where he sojourned a while; next he came by land to Ormus, and thence to Goa, where he was some time a prisoner, like the rest, and at length was returned to Portugal in a Lisbon galion with a *viador de Fasienda*, by name *Bras Courayge*.² I afterwards heard

¹ This is a somewhat mysterious personage. Nothing is known of him, except what appears in two accounts of his voyage, in Pyrdard's notice above, and in a similar notice by Mocquet. Curiously, the first edition of his voyages was in English—*An exact and curious Survey of all the East Indies, etc.*, by Monsieur de Monfart, London, 1615, 4to. This was written by a French resident of London, who states that he made his acquaintance on a visit to Paris, and made up the book from the notes and conversation of the traveller, who, though "a right French gentleman . . . cannot very well write." The second edition was published at Paris, 1630, under the title *Voyage fait par terre depuis Paris jusqu'à la Chine*, par Sr. de Feynes. Owing to the name Monfart being used in the English edition, and Feynes only in the French, none of the bibliographers seem to have been aware that the traveller was the same, although the English edition begins, "I, Henry de Feynes, commonly called by the name of the Mannor of Monfart." Dr. Burnell, even, in his copy of the English book, notes that he does not find Monfart in any biographical dictionary (he appears in the *Biog. Univ.* under the name Feynes), and rather hastily concludes, "He was, it is plain, a swindler." Much suspicion has been cast upon the French (or Feynes) voyage, owing to its absence of dates, but the English (or Monfart) book, confirmed by the notices of Pyrdard and Mocquet, settles the general truth of the voyage. The English edition states that he started on the overland journey in 1608. Mocquet, who arrived at Goa 26th May 1609, heard that Feynes had been there three months before. He probably arrived at Lisbon about the end of 1609, and was kept a prisoner in the castle of Xativa till 1613. In the English edition he acknowledges that his liberation was due to the good offices of the Duc de Mayenne. It seems that before his voyage he had been in the household of the Cardinal de Joyeux, and that after his return to France he was taken into the household of Louis XIII.

² Bras Correa had a career of great adventure. De Couto describes him as "a captain of experience, a good soldier, and a great mariner."

that as soon as he arrived at Lisbon he was cast into prison without his knowing why, and remained there four whole years, until *Monsieur de Mayenne*, proceeding to Spain for the marriages in 1613, got him set free by his interest and favour.

In April 1592 he went out as captain of the *Nazareth*, and arrived at Goa in Sept. of the same year. Early in 1593 he left Goa in the same ship, and with five others, one only of the six reaching Lisbon. Correa with great difficulty got the *Nazareth* to Mozambique, where she was abandoned. The *Santo Alberto* had been wrecked on the coast of Natal, and the survivors of her crew and ladies, after terrible misery, had made their way to Mozambique. Here also had arrived the *Chagas* (v. s., p. 182) of the same fleet, the fine new ship lately built at Goa. The crew and passengers of both the *Nazareth* and *S. Alberto* were taken on the *Chagas*, with as much as she could carry of the cargo of the *Nazareth*. She was greatly overladen, and with difficulty made the Azores. Here, off Fayal, she fell in with three ships of the dreaded Earl of Cumberland, under Captains Cave, Anthony, and Downton. A terrific combat ensued, the Portuguese captains, especially Correa, behaving with the greatest heroism. Several attempts at boarding her were repulsed with loss. Anthony was killed, and Cave and Downton both wounded. At length the carrack took fire, but her brave defenders fought on to the bitter end. The few survivors cast themselves into the sea, those from whom ransom might be expected were saved by the English boats, others (to the disgrace of England) were shot as they swam for their lives. The fire on the carrack had now reached the magazine, and she blew up and went to the bottom with a cargo of priceless value, including the gems (*pedraria*) of three ship's companies. Correa and another captain, Nuno Velho, were saved and brought to England, where they remained more as guests than prisoners of the Earl for a year. Their ransom of 3,000 cruzados was paid by Nuno Velho for both. On their return to Spain they received the thanks of the king for their splendid defence. Some years afterwards Correa returned to India and was *Vedor da fazenda* at Goa in 1606, until he left at the beginning of 1609. From a dispatch in the *Liv. das Monç.* (ii, 250), it seems that he died about 1611.

CHAPTER XXII.

Departure from Goa.—Manner of embarking.—Provisions on board.—Treatment of the author.—Vermin in India.

The fourth carrack was one named *la nau de Nuestra Senora de Jesus*, that is to say, "Notre Dame de Jesus," whereon we were shipped by order of the viceroy. We numbered three Frenchmen and one Hollander, but he was so ill that he had to be put on shore again and left at Goa. We had also one of the three men who, as I have said, deserted from the Hollanders at Mozambic. On the voyage he was rated as an apprentice, or "under-mariner", and had his wages as such; but it was pitiable to see how ill he was dealt with during the voyage, for there was no man, great or small, but treated him despitefully and wished him ill; and in truth he did nothing to get himself liked, being an idle fellow and a parlous glutton. He said he was Swiss by race. He was the cause of the poor Portuguese being shot at Mozambic, as already related; and as several of their kinsmen were on board, that was one of the chief reasons that he was so hated. The captain of this carrack was *Antonio Baroso*, a man of fifty years of age or thereabouts.

Seven or eight days before our going on board we bade our adieux and took leave of our friends, thanking those that had assisted and been kind to us, amongst others the good French Jesuit Father, *Estienne de la Croix*, who a week before our departure had chanted his first mass. I begged him to write to his kinsmen at Rouen, promising him to deliver his letters faithfully, but he made excuses, saying he did not wish his relatives and friends to have news of him. The other two Fathers, *Nicolas Trigaut* and *Jean de Seine*, were then no longer at Goa, for Father Trigaut had gone to Cochin and Cape Comory with the armadas of the South,

with the design when the armadas returned at the conclusion of their voyage to make his way thence to *Macao*, in China, and not to return to Goa; all this he did, as may be seen in his history of China. Father Jean de Seine had gone with the armadas to the northern coast to take up his residence at Chaul.

The viceroy, the archbishop, and some other great lords and wealthy men of our acquaintance dispensed to us liberally of their means when we went to take our leave of them, and what with that and with such of the allowances given to us by the King of Spain as we had saved, we had accumulated enough to supply ourselves with linen and other necessary clothing for the voyage. We took no thought for food, believing that we were to be fed on board at the king's expense, but in this we were mightily deceived, as you shall hear anon. Nor must I forget to mention a great insult I suffered before our departure, viz., that as my two companions and I were walking about the town buying what we had need of, I had the misfortune to have my pocket picked of the purse that contained all my money. This caused me the greatest possible inconvenience during the whole voyage, for I was without the means of purchasing many things; my companions who had money of their charity supplied me with the best clothes they could afford, although they had no more than they needed. Thus did ill fortune, that had accompanied me from the commencement of my voyage, pursue me through this last stage of it, and even to the end; nay, has pursued me since, and with the same constancy to the present moment, but God be praised who has given me grace to endure with patience.

At length arrived the time for our taking ship, which we did on the 30th January 1610. We went on board by night on account of the tide; but this is a dangerous time by reason of the robbers then abroad who lie in wait for the poor folks that are going aboard with their baggage and mer-

chandise, and rob and plunder them, nay, sometimes maim and murder them. We were four days on board before we set sail, which was on the morning of the 3rd February.

It is a marvel to embark on one of these vessels, that seem like castles, with the vast number of people on board and the amount of merchandise they carry. Ours was so laden with goods on the deck that they reached almost half-way up the mast; and outside on the chain wales, which are the ledges on each side, you saw nothing but merchandise, provisions, and bunks,¹ which are the little cabins wherein the mariners and others lie, covering them over with fresh ox and cow hides. In short, the whole place was so obstructed that one could hardly get about. The second day after we got aboard, being still at anchor, and the officers of the ship still on shore, a man named *Manuel Fernando* (the same who had the sword-cut at Goa, and was like to die, having gone to visit a soldier's wife, as I have described elsewhere), while some work was being done about the ship, came and gave me a box on the ear, saying if we would not work he would fling us all into the sea, and that we were Hollander *Luteranos*. He had indeed been badly treated by the Hollanders, as I heard: afterwards on the voyage he was exceedingly kind and courteous to me; that was, I believe, when he learnt that we were Frenchmen, though they hate us as much or more than any other nation. I submitted to the indignity with the best grace I could, fearing worse treatment or to be put back on shore.

When our captain came on board more than thirty galiots or "manchoues" surrounded the vessel with all kinds of instrumental music; this armada of galiots gave salutes with volleys of muskets and cannon, and friends all bade their farewells. At the same time we set sail also set out the

¹ In orig. *renches*, from the Sp. and old Ital. *rancio*, "chambrée, plat, logement des matelots dans un navire du commerce" (Jal, *Gloss. Naut.*).

armada for the conquest of Couesme, between Sofala and Mozambique. On leaving the bar of Goa, at twelve leagues to the north, you see some desert islands, like as if burnt, which the Portuguese call the *Islas quimados*; they are very dangerous reefs. It is the first land sighted by ships coming from Lisbon to Goa. One of the four carracks that had come out was left behind, because it had arrived too late, and there was no time to refit her; so in place of her another was taken that had remained behind from the preceding year, there not being enough pepper then to load her (the others even had not full cargoes). It is the officers' loss when ships arrive too late, for they have to wait a whole year, spending their substance the while; on the other hand they are the first selected for the year after. In our vessel we were about 800 persons, including the slaves, and about sixty Portuguese and Indian women. Two Franciscans also embarked with us without leave of the archbishop or their superior. They had got on board secretly, and had money enough for their provisions, for which I think they paid the master pilot at Goa, as he got a half-share of their "matelotage" or victuals. These cost a single man 300 pardos, which must be paid at Goa in advance. These two Franciscans were afterwards put ashore as prisoners at Brazil when we landed there, and sent thence to Portugal. Any that will may go to India, but not return—a rule applying more strictly to the Jesuits and religious persons, except for some good and lawful cause.¹

¹ In Jan. 1598 the king wrote to the viceroy: "He (the late viceroy) also tells me that it will be for the service of God to recommend the Franciscan, Dominican, and Augustinian prelates of this realm to send out to India professed clergy of a better stamp, because those who take the frock there are deficient in such education and qualities as are requisite for the improvement of society by their example and conversation. Wherefore I have caused letters to be written to the prelates of the said orders that the professed clergy who go out to India are not to return thence, informing them of the evils which result from their doing so. This you will communicate to the prelates in India" (*Arch. Port. Or.*, Fasc. 3, No. 304).

When we were embarked we were greatly surprised at the custom in use in these ships from Goa to Lisbon, viz., of giving the seamen but one small portion of bread and water, as I have already remarked; whereas we thought to have had an ordinary as in our own ships, and so had failed to lay in store of provisions, as we had easily done with the aid of our friends and rich acquaintance; and what is more, they had promised to feed us, and so we had come on board with provisions for no more than four or five days only. Having set sail, the following day we presented ourselves to the captain and the clerk, and showed them our passport, which we had already, after our coming on board, shown to the shipguards, two men set by the king to watch all that come and go from the ship, both men and merchandise. The captain was astonished to find that we were on board; for you may be there five or six months without knowing of each other, so vast are the ships and so great the company. When he heard that we had no provisions, he told us we were mighty ill-advised to make so bad arrangements, and was much annoyed at the viceroy and the *Viador de Fasienda* (as usual), for that when one was shipped by order of the king he should be provisioned at the expense of the king; and that these fellows were robbers, seeing they would not fail to enter it in the king's accounts, just as if they had supplied the victuals; and that furnishing us with bread and water would be to that extent diminishing the rations of the mariners. This did nevertheless raise in them such compassion for us that throughout the voyage they were both kind and courteous toward us, and forbade any to address or treat us in ill sort. This command was well obeyed, but in respect of food we suffered the greatest possible privations; for though so little bread and water was due to us, the ship ran so short that we could not be supplied with it for more than fifteen days' journey from the place we then were; insomuch that they were constrained to borrow, from some on board, our

rations for a month, viz., thirty pounds of biscuit and a barrel of water for each, containing some twenty-four pints; but the mischief was, that, as we had no place under lock to put these stores, some were stolen by night, notwithstanding that corporal punishment was the penalty for that offence; and when it rained we had nowhere to put them under cover.

There was also great and general inconvenience throughout the whole ship by reason of certain animals like May bugs (*hanetons*), called by them *brato*,¹ which are very numerous, and are vastly annoying to all that come from the Indies, but not to those that go thither. These vermin come from India; and when you kill them in your hands they send forth the most abominable stink, like bugs (*punaïses*). Our ship was full of them, and they got into all the boxes, casks, and other wooden vessels, so that they leaked, and the wine and water were lost. They also ate the biscuit and made sad havoc therein. The biscuit served out on board is made at Goa, and is as white as our chapter-bread.² To make it they take the whitest bread and cut it in four flat portions, heating these in the oven twice: this biscuit is very good to the taste. We got water so long as it lasted, like the mariners and officers of the ship, and so with biscuit, but at the end of three months the pittance failed. Sometimes the voyage lasts eight or nine months, more or less. Thus did we suffer many hardships in this voyage from Goa to the Bay of All Saints, which took us about six months. At times, but rarely, some good man bade us to eat with him, or sent us something. But a greater rarity was drink, which they gave us very seldom, and then it was a little *eau de vie* or raisin wine. The worst of the victuals on board is that they are all salted in order to keep better, and that changes their quality in such sort that full often I durst not eat at all,

¹ *I.e.*, cockroaches (*Blatta Orientalis*).

² *Pain de chapitre*, "pain qu'on distribuait chaque jour aux chanoines dans quelques chapitres" (*Littre*).

having so small a daily allowance of water in such a time of heat and calm. And what caused the water to run still more short was that the chief article of food was rice, which has to be cooked in water, and this made away with much. For the rest, we were fairly well off, and those on board treated us respectfully; for had any malapert knave said or done anything insolent he would have been summarily punished, more promptly indeed than if he had offended one of his own countrymen.

When we got to sea the captain took the names of all on board. He then appointed the captains of the night and day watches, giving particular directions to the day watch to see that none carried fire about the ship, this being strictly forbidden for fear of accidents. For you must know that justice is so strictly administered by the captain that he can without appeal give the strapado, or in a civil suit cast a defendant in damages to the extent of a hundred crowns.



